Daily Report

East Europe

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Obzina Interviewed on CEMA Plans, Part Two

AU2807141089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul 89 p 3

[Second part of interview with CSSR Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Svatopluk Smutny: "Czechoslovak Proposals for CEMA's Activity Under New Conditions; Topical Issues of Comprehensive Cooperation"—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Smutny] **The Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member States Through the Year 2000 was adopted 4 years ago. How it is being realized?**

[Obzina] [passage omitted] Some 1,900 organizations of the CEMA member states are taking part in the realization of the program. Research and development work on more than 1,200 types of new techniques, technologies, and materials had been concluded by the beginning of 1989. Of the planned 457 prototypes, 445 had been manufactured, of which 241 have been put into test operation, and 145 have gone into mass production.

Thus far, we have not completely succeeded in asserting the principle stipulated when the Comprehensive Program was adopted, that is, that cooperation would be comprehensive throughout the whole research-development-production-use reproduction cycle. Unfortunately, about 20 percent of specific tasks "end" with reports on research without ensuring their specialized production.

The CSSR Government pays regular attention to the realization of the Comprehensive Program.

[Smutny] **And how is progress regarding the preparations of target-oriented programs?**

[Obzina] In accordance with the 43d CEMA session, it has been decided to prepare and carry out a number of large target-oriented scientific-technical and technological projects, of which the following six projects have been discussed and prepared to date:

1—the development of modern, highly efficient automated equipment for the production of new materials;
2—the application of thermal protection on temperature regulating and hardening coatings [nanaseni tepelne ochrany termoregulacnich a zpevnujicich povlaku];
3—the development of ceramic materials, technologies, and specialized equipment for parts of combustion engines and gas turbines;
4—the development and production of equipment and diagnostic instruments for immunofermentational analysis of viral and bacterial diseases of potatoes;
5—the development of preparations from microorganisms which fix nitrogen for basic agricultural cultures;
6—the development of veterinary preparations and their production in cooperation.

The **retarding factor** in the current realization of both the Comprehensive Program and the large target-oriented scientific-technical and technological projects **is our weak knowledge and experience in organizing and managing extensive and demanding programs, and the failure to comprehend the fact that without earmarking clearly delineated financial and foreign exchange funds for individual programs one can expect neither rapid results nor the end of superfluous administrative work.** Papers and goodwill, even in the form of concluded agreements, can be no substitute for the necessary resources dedicated to resolving research tasks and applying the results in social practice.

The fact that in the case of about 30 percent of the tasks that are being resolved the resulting parameters are not on a par with the highest world standards is a serious shortcoming.

In general—the decisive influence on the economies of the CEMA member states is still weak. These shortcomings also apply to us, and, like the other CEMA member states involved, we must eliminate them. [passage omitted]

[Smutny] What are we concentrating on?

[Obzina] We are focusing on the following two problems:

1—the development of smooth coordination of the economic and scientific-technical policy of the CEMA member states. Consultations at the highest party and state level should form a part of this;

2—the coordination of medium-term national economic plans at the level of governments and enterprises.

In concrete economic issues of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic cooperation we are concentrating on prices, currencies, and finances.

The smooth functioning of both the mechanism of cooperation and "national" mechanisms depends, without a doubt, on prices. This problem is always at the center of attention of both the state bodies and all economic organizations. The key issue is the convergence of exchange rates and the level of domestic prices with prices abroad, which will—as a consequence—ensure the rationalization of value relations within the framework of the individual economies. In that respect Czechoslovakia, too, has much work ahead, despite the fact that we adjusted wholesale prices on 1 January 1989. [passage omitted]

[Smutny] **Are we not, among other things, also proposing something that should already be in operation, for example, a transferable ruble as common currency?**

[Obzina] We are proposing this and we are dealing with this.

What is involved now is a parallel process of strengthening the real monetary functions of the national currencies and on that basis using the transferable ruble as an instrument of accumulation. In the sense of the Czechoslovak proposals discussed by the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government, CEMA's currency mechanism is to be based on the organic unity of the common currency (the transferable ruble), the national currencies of the CEMA member states, and freely convertible currencies, and on their gradual mutual convertibility. Currently, the focal point of the problem is enhancing the role of the national currencies and strengthening them. [passage omitted]

[Smutny] **Readers are drawing our attention to the fact that some of the koruna's current exchange rates vis-a-vis other socialist currencies are unrealistic. Will the new exchange rates change this?**

[Obzina] The mutual exchange rates of the currencies of the socialist states are set on the basis of interstate agreements on a multilateral or bilateral basis. The current system of setting exchange rates in the CEMA member states is not flexible enough to enable them to be regularly modified—according to the movement of price levels in individual socialist countries and in the world—in order to reflect as objectively as possible the purchasing power of individual currencies and ensure their function of operating as criteria when billing, and thus also of ensuring equivalent compensation for goods and services. Today, many exchange rates for the individual currencies of the socialist states do not correspond to their real value. For this reason, the CSSR—within the CEMA framework—has been actively pressing for the introduction of an exchange rate system that would make it possible to smoothly correct existing disparities. Today, we are discussing these issues bilaterally with the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, and we are preparing such talks also with the Soviet Union. In harmony with objective requirements we will also hold talks with the other socialist countries.

[Smutny] **The CEMA bodies are discussing a proposal to establish a common market. Is that proposal a reaction to the EEC's similar step?**

[Obzina] The trend to integration is a general objective law, but the essence, objectives, and principles of socialist and capitalist integration are different. For us, from the viewpoint of a successful future of the world socialist system, the common socialist market is a necessity. [passage omitted]

In discussions, also in the other CEMA countries, various views have been expressed, including the view that the restructuring of cooperation should take the form of immediately taking over, or taking over, the forms of capitalist economic integration. In our view, however, this is not the way to overcome our present difficulties or to prove the advantages of socialism over capitalism in the economic sphere. **For us the point of the restructuring of the mechanism of the socialist economic integration lies precisely in developing and applying all objective and subjective possibilities of socialism,** including the full utilization of the mutual external economic relations of the CEMA states as a factor of economic growth and development. [passage omitted]

[Smutny] **Among our proposals there is still one that is very interesting. What is your opinion about the project designed to provide managers and organizations with managerial skills?**

[Obzina] The notion that each mid-level staffer can be trained to be a manager is utopian. **Talents for leading managerial posts in production and trade have to be sought.** [passage omitted]

From time to time in the history of the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia, especially when difficulties crop up, we come across attempts not to look for the objective causes of difficulties and to try to solve them mainly by developing our production and trade, but calls for the crude application of capitalist principles to socialist society.

Many of these people behave like crabs: the moment they come across an obstacle, they resort—out of indolence, professional incompetence, political immaturity, and lack of experience—to "tried-and-tested capitalist recipes" and propose to infect socialism with capitalist principles instead of seeking our own solutions. Instead of studying capitalist experience—its critical analyses, generalization and the way it has made use of what is generally economically valuable and valid—they offer cheap "plagiarism," packaging the bourgeois essence of solutions into "socialist" novelties. Among these people are those who link restructuring with the theories of convergence, or those who dare—but only quietly—to speak about the restoration of capitalism in the CSSR. [passage omitted]

Soviet Strikes Show 'Failure' of Economic Reform

AU2607074189 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 23 Jul 89 p 4

[Frederik Mikeli article: "Class Tension in the Soviet Union"]

[Excerpts] During recent weeks, a wave of strikes has broken out in the Soviet Union, led by coal miners in various regions of the country. After the work stoppage by 12,000 Siberian miners that marked the beginning of the strikes of workers in this industry, the strikes spread to Donbass in the eastern Ukraine, to 11 mines in the Karaganda coal basin in the north of the Republic of Kazakhstan, to the Pechora basin in the north of the country, and to Rostov-na-Donau and the Dnepr region of the Ukraine. The strikes continued for several days and involved a large number of miners. They were also accompanied by rallies in the main squares of cities, and strikers even sent representatives to other areas to ask for solidarity, which testifies to their level of organization. [passage omitted]

The exacerbation of the class conflict in the Soviet Union, which is at present focused on the miners' strikes, is the clearest indicator of the failure of the economic reforms of restructuring which the Soviet leadership has undertaken in order to save the country from the severe economic crisis into which it has been plunged. Although there is much propaganda about prosperity, in reality the socioeconomic position of the working masses has not improved, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to make ends meet, and people's labor is still more thoroughly exploited. This is what Gorbachev's "perestroyka" really offers Soviet working people.

Time has shown that the economic reforms have done nothing but pave the way for the further development of capitalism, at the same time further deepening the class gulf between the bourgeoisie, who have extended still further their political and economic privileges, and the working masses, who are subjected to even greater exploitation.

Yugoslav Press Cited on Arrests in Kosovo

AU3007155689 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 30 Jul 89

["Chauvinistic and Legalized Violence Against the Albanians in Kosovo—Over Three and a Half Months Following the Imposition of the State of Emergency More Than 3,300 Albanians Are Arrested and Sentenced to Different Terms of Imprisonment"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 30 (ATA)—Arrests, long-term imprisonment, and other persecution measures against the Albanians of Kosovo have assumed such large proportions, as they cannot fail to be mentioned in the official reports on the situation in this province. According to a report put forth to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia these days, since the application of the "special measures" till June 15, there have been arrested 2,233 people, 1,105 people are sentenced for "offence," 738 others have been "warned" and more than 200 passports have been confiscated. Reporting on this, the member of the Yugoslav Presidency Dragutin Zelenovic stressed that the state of emergency will continue in Kosovo. Oppression and denial of the rights of the Albanians in Kosovo are so troublesome as they have made Belgrade face with the indignation and protests not only of the Yugoslav public opinion, but also of the other countries; it has made Yugoslavia be condemned by the international organizations, the European Parliament and even the American Congress.

The official statistics on above arrests and imprisonment do not give a full coverage on the present situation of the Albanians of Kosovo, on the violation of their constitutional rights. To them are added every day facts and data published in the Yugoslav press on the campaign of purges, dismissals, and other measures applied in the context of the so-called "differentiation." To them are added discriminations that are deepening in every field, the curtailing of the right for education, the use of mother tongue, etc.

The newspaper BORBA of Belgrade wrote these days that political differentiation is aggravated more and more and energetic measures are adopted to settle accounts. Meanwhile, it is intended that the restrictive measures further deepen. Hence, the member of the CC [Central Committee] of the LC [League of Communists] of Serbia, Milutin Aleksic, threatened some days ago that other restrictive measures will be taken against those who supported the Trepca miners' strikes and March manifestations. Just as in the past, education is one of the main targets of the purges' campaign. In an interview granted to the newspaper RILINDJA of Pristina on July 23, the chairman of the Provincial Committee on education, Stanisa Markovic, declared that the process of differentiation in this field has just begun.

As far as the grave situation in Kosovo is concerned, the review DANAS of Zagreb of July 25 wrote among the other things: Violence is always and everywhere violence, the more so when it is institutionalized as the case of the violence of Serb chauvinists in Kosovo. It is common knowledge that numerous people have been arrested in Kosovo, they are beaten, interrogated, isolated, wounded, and even murdered. And all these have occurred because the people demanded to maintain the autonomy of the province that was curbed through violence, tanks, and special police. Now the "constitution of tanks" is in power in Kosovo and the state of emergency continues. This year, the Croatian review writes, the number of the Albanian students enrolled in Pristina University reduced by 45 percent. In the secondary schools for the pupils of Serb nationality, the number of those enrolled has augmented by 240 percent, at a time when there are no places for one third of the Albanian pupils. 11,000 Albanian pupils who have finished elementary school in the Albanian language are not

enrolled in schools this year. What will happen to them? Perhaps, DANAS writes in conclusion, one day they too will be declared "nationalists" and "separatists," "counterrevolutionaries," even "terrorists" because they will demand to acquire schooling in the mother tongue?

Seminar on Trade With FRG Held in Munich

AU2707100989 Tirana ATA in French
0915 GMT 27 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, 27 Jul (ATA)—Within the framework of "Days of Albania," a seminar on the economic development and foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and on the specific opportunities for expanding economic and commercial relations with the FRG and the Land of Bavaria was held in Munich in the FRG on 25 July. High-level personalities in the fields of commerce and the economy from the FRG and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania took part. One also noticed the presence of other officials from the Ministry of Economy and Transportation of the Land of Bavaria, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, and directors of Bavarian firms, banks, economic and social institutions, representatives of the chambers of commerce of other Bavarian and FRG cities, and representatives of the press.

The seminar, which was opened by Dr Rodenstock, president of the Munich Chamber of Industry and Commerce, discussed tangible ways of expanding economic and commercial relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Land of Bavaria and the FRG, and a common desire to increase the volume of commercial exchanges was expressed.

Dr Hans Martin Jepsen, secretary of state at the Ministry of Economy and Transportation of the Land of Bavaria, spoke on this occasion about economic and commercial cooperation between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Land of Bavaria. He expressed his appreciation for Albania's economic success and declared himself in favor of fruitful, long-term economic cooperation between Albania and Bavaria.

Shane Korbeci, Albanian minister of foreign trade, also spoke at the seminar on the topic of "The development of the economy and foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the prospects for its commercial relations with the FRG and the Land of Bavaria in particular." Shpetim Caushi, extraordinary and plenipotentiary Albanian ambassador to the FRG, was also present at this event.

Korbeci Returns

AU2807190389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1800 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who attended the Days of Albania activities in Munich at the invitation of Dr August Lang, minister of the economy and transportation of the Land of Bavaria, returned home today. He was welcomed at Rinas Airport by Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction, and other comrades, and Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federal Republic of Germany in Tirana.

Prior to his departure from Munich, Shane Korbeci was received by Dr Siegfried Lengl, secretary of state at the FRG Ministry for Economic Cooperation, with whom he had a friendly talk.

Kosovo Author Cited on Persecution of Albanians

AU2807120489 Tirana ATA in English
0950 GMT 28 Jul 89

["Campaign Aiming at Eliminating the Albanian Intelligentsia—Article by the Kosovo writer, Ramiz Kelmendi, in the magazine DANAS of Zagreb"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 28 (ATA)—In its issue of July 25, the Croatian magazine DANAS carried an article written by the Kosovo writer, Ramiz Kelmendi, one of the authors and signers of the appeal of the 215 Albanian intellectuals, which had to do with amendments to the Serbian Constitution and that was legally addressed to the official organs of Serbia and Kosovo. The article stresses among others: One should immediately express his great worry over a differentiation made who knows how many times over the last 8 years here and only for us, the Albanians, something which runs counter to democracy and civilization. This is the clearest example, and even a classic example of inequality, as until now there is no other case in Yugoslavia that someone can be summoned and ask him to render account because he has signed any appeal addressed to any legal organ in the most legal way. For nearly two months in succession, I have been in a paradoxical and embarrassing situation, deliberately accused, and even sentenced, having no right to protect myself and complain, at a time when I know nothing what I am accused of and on what bases the charge arises from. It is beyond one's logic the shallowness of mind the people here are "evaluated" with and the epithets applied to them, decisions are taken, very grave and not at all argued sentences are passed on them.

The Albanian intelligentsia for years on end, the article continues, is accused and criticized that it keeps silence, that does not speak at all. I would not wish to speak on the pressure exercised on the Albanian intelligentsia for years on end and especially recently, on the fact that on it rests responsibility for everything and on the doubt hanging on its head like the sword of Damocles.

Proceeding from the uncivilized expression that "honest Albanian is only the illiterate Albanian," they go so far as to declare the intelligentsia the main enemy. When the Albanian intelligentsia began to speak out, 215 persons out it were immediately put on the agenda: the black lists were compiled, all were accused, made guilty of, and even declared enemies.

There is nothing more dangerous and which causes greater reaction than the right of the monopoly of a handful of people over the truth of the majority. Monopoly for a stand which allows no remark, no opposition, that does not allow you to speak out, that does grant the right to adopt a different or opposite stand, although it might be in full conformity with the constituent principles, the right of freely expressing the opinion, and the right for a different opinion, even an opposite one. [sentence as received]

Herein originates my offense. It has its source in the logic of two "measurements," because here it is about two criteria (not to say for two morals), which artificially and imposingly must be rooted—as in a procrustean bed—in our consciousness, discussion, voting, and orientation.

It is common knowledge that no one so far has deprived himself of the right for equality, the more so one cannot expect such a thing from the intellectuals, who, owing to their natural inclinations, are not pleased with what they have achieved and persist. It is for this reason that charges are brought against them. Through this "campaign," it is taken aim at maiming the Albanian intelligentsia, and even at eliminating it, so as to make the future of the people impossible. This gives rise to suspicion and indignation, this arouses resistance.

But, the author of the article writes in conclusion, it is well known that only running water is drinking water, whereas standing water is water of a swamp. Each of us, wherever he is, undergoes examination for his moral intellectual, and human consciousness for the truth.

Economic Progress Report for 23-29 Jul

AU2907194389

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 23 to 29 July carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Durres District: The export plan up to 20 July was overfulfilled by 5.2 million leks. (1800 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Kruje District: The general industrial production plan up to 15 July was overfulfilled by 10 million leks. (1800 GMT 23 Jul 89)

Sarande District: The 7-month plan is expected to be prefulfilled by 3-4 days. (1800 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Shkoder District: Ten sectors and collectives report having prefulfilled the 7-month plan. (1800 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 22-28 Jul

AU2807191489

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 22 to 28 July reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) Politburo candidate members, attended the funeral of a prominent physician in Tirana on 26 July. (1800 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member, and Pirro Kondi and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a harvest festival in Tirana on 28 July. (1800 GMT 28 Jul 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member and Durres District AWP Committee first secretary, attended the inauguration of rural aqueducts on 22 July. (1800 GMT 22 Jul 89)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of industry, mining, and energy, attended a ceremony to mark the 50th anniversary of the coal mine enterprise at Memaliaj, Tepelene District, on 23 July. (1800 GMT 23 Jul 89)

Hekuran Isai, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended festivities in Libohove, Gjirokaster District, to mark the successful completion of the wheat harvest on 24 July. (1800 GMT 24 Jul 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, attended an Egyptian Embassy reception on 26 July. (1800 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Kico Mustaqi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Chief of the General Staff, attended a ceremony at the "Enver Hoxha" Joint Military School in Tirana, at which diplomas were awarded to cadets, on 25 July. (1800 GMT 25 Jul 89) He also attended celebrations on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Army Song and Dance Ensemble in Tirana on 24 July. (1800 GMT 24 Jul 89) Mustaqi attended a ceremony at the Tirana Military Academy, at which diplomas were awarded to cadets, on 28 July. (1800 GMT 28 Jul 89)

Bulgarian-Turkish Meeting in Vienna Called Off

AU2807174789 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 28 Jul 89 p 2

["ek" report: "Planned Turkish-Bulgarian Meeting in Vienna Did Not Take Place"]

[Text] Vienna—A meeting in Vienna planned by Bulgarian and Turkish representatives did not take place. The main topic was to have been the controversy over the wave of emigration of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria. Atanas Ginev, Bulgarian ambassador to Austria, told STANDARD journalist Elisabeth Krammer "that the Vienna meeting did not come about because the Turks insisted on an agenda drawn up by them. It is not possible for two sovereign states to hold talks on this basis."

Referring to statements by the Austrian foreign minister during a meeting with his Turkish counterpart last weekend [22-23 July], Ginev stated: "I was surprised that Alois Mock sided with Turkey in the controversy over the emigration of ethnic Turks. I have recently had meetings with President Kurt Waldheim and Vice Chancellor Josef Riegler. We also discussed this problem. The president assured me that Austria does not intend to interfere with this delicate issue. Riegler also stated that this question can only be settled on a bilateral basis between Turkey and Bulgaria."

Meanwhile, over 195,000 Turks have crossed the Turkish border. A total of 395 persons who emigrated have returned so far, according to Bulgarian sources.

Ginev explains the wave of emigration as follows: "This is a dubious and manipulated matter. Ethnic Turks are instigated by Turkish propaganda to leave their home. They are even threatened. When they arrive in Turkey, nobody wants them and they are sent to Anatolia or other places. Every Bulgarian can travel where er he wants to. I am convinced that most of them will come back. The matter has a positive affect on our economy: The shortage of labor resulting from the emigration will force Bulgaria to accelerate the application of the new technologies."

Referring to the meeting that did not come about, he states: "We also wanted to discuss economic issues. A decree was issued about 2 weeks ago which makes it impossible for Turkish companies to procure Bulgarian goods. This is incomprehensible, if one takes into account that the exchange of goods used to amount to half a billion dollars."

Austrian Communist Party Head on Muslim Issue

AU2807143189 Sofia BTA in English 1414 GMT 28 Jul 89

["The Socialist Countries"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 28 (BTA)—Mr Franz Muhri, chairman of the Austrian Communist Party is firm: There is nothing like mass exile of the Bulgarian Muslims, as it is claimed in the West. He told a BTA reporter that this viewpoint of his is a result of the information he received during his visits is some regions and from his talks with ordinary people.

"It can be said," Mr Franz Muhri went on to say, "that Turkey which is a base of the U.S. imperialism uses the Islamic fanaticism against Socialist Bulgaria. The administration in Ankara has not the moral right to speak of human rights, after it is violating them gravely in its own country. Representatives of the progressive forces in Turkey among which there is a great number of Communists are rotting in the prisons."

According to him, the great attention which is being lent in Austria to the leaving of the Bulgarian Muslims is a result of a purposeful campaign against which the guest declares himself. We do not want any worsening of the good Bulgaro-Austrian relations, he added and thus, we condemn those, who have put themselves, and continue to be in service of that campaign.

Mr Franz Muhri hails the restructuring in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. The Austrian Communist Party is solidary with its basic objectives, he stressed. Mr Mikhail Gorbachev is extremely popular in our society. The lie of a Soviet military threat, which has been spread consistently by the imperialistic centres for propaganda is being destroyed now. This is due to the democratization, the peaceful offensive, based on the renewal of socialism.

The guest who is paying a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], determined relations between the two parties as traditionally good, based on solidarity, open dialogue on all problems, identity of thinking on topical issues of the present day.

Central Committee Delegation Visits Moscow

AU2907195489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee led by Prodan Stoyanov, member of the BCP Central Committee and chief of the Administrative Department, has been on a 4-day visit to Moscow.

The Bulgarian delegation acquainted itself with the experience in maintaining party documentation and archive work, and also discussed matters concerning cooperation in this field.

The delegation was received by Boris Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Party Control Committee, and by Valeriy Ivanovich Boldin, chief of the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Central Committee Message to Frelimo Congress

AU3107081789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jul 89 p 5

[BTA report on the BCP Central Committee greetings message to the Fifth Frelimo Congress, read on 26 July at the congress by Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the congress: "Experience Until Now is Basis of Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Maputo, 27 July (BTA)—The report of the Frelimo Party profoundly analyzes the new realities in Mozambique, Southern Africa, and the world, the greetings message of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to the Fifth Frelimo Congress reads. The message was read on 26 July at the congress by Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the congress.

The message expresses confidence that the congress will work out and confirm a realistic program for establishing peace in the country, constructing a broad patriotic alliance of the Mozambican national forces, and achieving economic stability.

The greetings message stresses the peace-loving foreign policy of the People's Republic of Mozambique and its contribution to strengthening the OAU, resolving African causes, and its activity within the Movement of the Nonaligned Countries. The message expresses confidence that Mozambique will continue to play a primary role in the efforts to achieve peace and security in southern Africa, eliminating apartheid, racism, and the last remnants of colonialism and neocolonialism, and fully asserting the philosophy of the new political thinking in Africa's international relations.

Further on the speaker spoke about the fundamental restructuring of society that is taking place in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, under conditions of dynamically developing human civilization and first of all the scientific-technical revolution.

The BCP and the People's Republic of Bulgaria have always expressed and will continue to express their solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America for political and economic independence and social liberation, the message further reads.

Our party and country are permeated by the understanding that in the modern world, when civilized international relations are imperative for all, there is no place for treating the developing, small, and poor countries unequally. Any interference in internal affairs is inadmissible. It is precisely those countries that need the greatest support and assistance, respecting their just demands to establish a new international economic order, urgently solving the problem of their foreign debts, and rapidly implementing the appeal to develop through disarmament.

We support the actions that guarantee democratic conditions for elections in Namibia, in implementation of Resolution No 435 of the UN Security Council on giving independence to that country, and condemn the attempts to manipulate the will of the Namibian people in favor of foreign forces. We are giving the Angolan people solidarity assistance in strengthening peace and tranquility in Angola and in implementing the plan on national reconciliation and the plan on the economic and financial stabilization of its legal government. We shall further implement close and active cooperation with the peoples of the other frontline countries, help the African National Congress and the other patriotic, democratic, and antiracist forces in the Republic of South Africa, and express solidarity with all other African peoples with a view to eliminating forever the remnants of colonialism and racism from the political map of Africa. Now more than ever before the African peoples need a peaceful, stable, and safe situation, so that they can concentrate on the pressing problems of their economic and social development and enjoy the results of their work and the continent's great resources.

We realize that while there exist great possibilities for fruitful cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples, they are not being fully utilized. Therefore it is our common political behest to use the necessary political will we possess and the significant experience of our friendly contacts for working even more actively for further developing comprehensive relations in the interest of the Bulgarian and Mozambican peoples and for peace, democracy, and social progress, the message concludes.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 20-28 Jul

AU2807203789

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 21 July through 1500 GMT on 28 July report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev attended a festive meeting held in Sofia on 21 July to mark Poland's National Day. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 2)

The following attended Polish National Day reception given in Sofia on 21 July by Polish Ambassador Weclav Bek: Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Ivan Panev, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 6)

The following leaders attended the Egyptian National Day reception given by Ambassador Muhammad Muhammad al-'Atribi in Sofia on 24 July: Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jul 89 p 2)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 27 July the new Turkish ambassador, Yalcin Oral, (Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 27 Jul 89) Luis Gonzales Ferreira, the new Portuguese ambassador, (Sofia BTA in English 1710 GMT 27 Jul 89) and three other recently appointed ambassadors. (Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 27 Jul 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a meeting in Sofia on 26 July of the Transport, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment Association, which adopted a production plan. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Sofia on 27 July with Franz Muhri, chairman of the of the Communist Party of Austria. (Sofia BTA in English 1100 GMT 27 Jul 89) In Sofia on 28 July Balev attended a national day reception given by the Peruvian ambassador. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 28 Jul 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in Varna on 21 July in a plenum of the Varna Oblast BCP organization that discussed the social tasks of restructuring. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 21 Jul 89) (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 6)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, took part in Razgrad on 23 July in a constituent meeting of the new Razgrad Oblast Fatherland Front organization that elected Kolyo Yovchev, hitherto first secretary of the Razgrad Municipal BCP Committee, as chairman of the Razgrad Oblast Fatherland Front Council. (Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 24 Jul 89 p 1)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received five newly appointed ambassadors in Sofia on 20 July. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jul 89 p 2)

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, opened and chaired in Sofia on 21 July a plenum of the Sofia City BCP Committee. (Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 23 Jul 89 p 2) In Sofia on 24 July he signed an cooperation agreement in Sofia on 24 July between the Sofia City BCP Committee, Sofia City People's Council, and the Bulgarian Artists Union. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jul 89 p 6)

Dimitur Stoyanov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia on 26 July Jean-Claude Gayssot, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Jul 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired a meeting of ministry officials and local government and economic leaders held in Sofia on 27 July to discuss developing resources and raising production efficiency in certain oblasts. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Jul 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, led a delegation that held final talks in Sofia on 21 July with a visiting delegation from the German Trade Union Federation led by its president Ernst Breit. (Sofia BTA in English 1504 GMT 21 Jul 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, attended a National Day reception given by the Belgian ambassador in Sofia on 21 July. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 6)

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, spoke in Sofia on 21 July at a national conference that discussed the serious lag in the construction program this year. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 21 Jul 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the opening by President Daniel Ortega in Managua on 21 July of a Bulgarian-built ice factory. (Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 21 Jul 89) In Managua on 23 July he was received by President Daniel Ortega. (Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT 23 Jul 89) On 25 July he returned with his BCP delegation to Sofia from Managua.(Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jul 89 p 6)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, took part in Sofia on 25 July in a conference of the National Agro-Industrial Union Association that discussed matters related to this year's harvest. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Jul 89)

Czechoslovak Leaders Vacationing in Soviet Union

PM2707153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Vacation in the USSR"]

[Text] M. Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee, and L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR government, arrived in the USSR on 25 July for a vacation at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Further on Few Sentences Petition on RFE

Protest Against Inclusion

AU2807141589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul 89 p 1

[Statement by Engineer Frantisek Kiml, director of the Konstruktiva State Enterprise, Prague: "I Protest"]

[Text] During the evening of 25 July 1989 and afterward, during the course of the following day, I was informed by a number of colleagues and personal friends that in a Radio Free Europe broadcast of 25 July 1989, I had been mentioned on the list of signatories of the Few Sentences petition.

I can only add to this dishonest and sordid accusation of my participation in signing the Few Sentences petition that this is a deliberate lie. I completely distance myself from the contents of the above-mentioned petition.

The question doggedly pursues me whether the Few Sentences petition was signed at all by the people whose names were mentioned in the Radio Free Europe broadcast, when in my case this was a fraudulent abuse of my name.

I believe that this incident will open the eyes of those citizens who, so far, are still allowing for the fact that the authors and propagandists of the Few Sentences petition mean well and that they are fighting with honest means.

Prague, 26 July 1989.

Criminal Proceedings Begin

LD2807162889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] According to a statement issued by Major Jiri Belohlavek, press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, criminal proceedings have begun by an investigator of the National Security Corps in Prague in the case of the Few Sentences petition, for the criminal act of incitement in accordance with paragraph 100, section 1a of the Criminal Code. House searches were carried out in Prague, the Central Bohemian, and South Moravian regions yesterday by an investigator of the National Security Corps with the consent of the City Prosecutor in Prague, of persons suspected of having drawn up, disseminated, and organized the collection of signatures under this appeal. The next step in the investigation is centered on establishing the criminal responsibility of specific persons.

Background of Petition Viewed

LD2907105389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 29 Jul 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO and Slovak PRAVDA publish an article by Arnost Bak, Marie Boudova, and Jaroslav Kojzar in which the authors discuss the background of the petition entitled Few Sentences. They draw attention to the fact that the appeal represents a well thought out act which is not really concerned with content, but rather is an attempt to bring under one banner, under the leadership of animosity toward our system, a majority of people of various professions, ages, and interests. The petition thus becomes a cover-up maneuver, an attempt to bring under one banner all those who are justly dissatisfied with shortcomings, those who are impatient, but also all hazard-seeking people, people who feel wronged, politically immature, as well as real enemies of socialism, those who are striving for a return to the pre-Munich conditions. This is the truth and it cannot be covered up, the authors of the article stress.

They then proceed to analyze in detail the aims and methods of the authors of the appeal Few Sentences, documenting their activity on concrete examples of their appearances in various Western communication media. Their tactics have also been admitted by Radio Free Europe in this year's July program when it reacted to an undiscovered connection of the authors of Few Sentences with Western, mainly U.S. transmitting stations and some other, so-called free communication media.

RUDE PRAVO goes on to say that this is the reason why hundreds of thousands financial injections are regularly aimed at the main organizers of resistance, this is why they receive such gifts from abroad as computers, video recorders, duplicating equipment, radio sets which facilitate hearing or making broadcasts, and so on. All this in the interest of inciting people, evoking unrest, gradual penetration into the existing structures and, at the same time, their disintgegration.

The aim is clear. Those who were attracted by the authors of the Few Sentences petition did not know or did not want to know the context. And this is what the initiators of the entire campaign counted on. The majority of our people, however, are against such a hazard. They will not allow those who want to disrupt the calm which is necessary to fulfilling the tasks of restructuring to succeed in attaining their destructive goals, stress the authors of the RUDE PRAVO article, Arnost Bak, Marie Boudova, and Jaroslav Kojzar.

Lack of Criticism in Local Press Criticized

AU2707141889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Public Information and the Local Press"]

[Excerpts] The 17th CPCZ Congress has stipulated that the most important task of the media is to provide truthful and prompt information about life in our country and about world events, and to ensure an extensive flow of information about the work of the party, state, and economic bodies and social organizations. [passage omitted]

A total of 109 titles of district newspapers with a print-run of 1,120,000 copies, and 235 titles of enterprises newspapers with a print-run of 1,540,000 copies are published in Czechoslovakia. Thus, local newspapers with more than 2,5 million copies are an important part of the party press. [passage omitted]

Media, including the district and enterprises' newspapers, should become a democratic forum for the views of people who are to popularize good examples for others, and help to solve problems by means of constructive criticism. Also, one must not forget that they are an important instrument of public control.

The principle of public information presumes that other gaps in the work of the local press will be filled. Until now, more extensive and more concrete reports on and information about the activity of the party bodies and organizations, and profiles of communists in work collectives, have been lacking. In the majority of cases, reporting is too officious, focusing mainly on the activity at meetings, and the attendance of officials of CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] district committees at aktivs and seminars. In cases like these one cannot be surprised that such publicity can elicit the impression that the main content of the party's activity is not resolving crucial problems, but holding meetings.

At present, the most important task of the editorial offices of the party press is to extensively and purposefully develop propaganda; mass political and organizational activity concentrating on the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. Even the local press, on the basis of concrete facts, should convincingly portray the activities of party bodies and organizations, to show how responsibly and critically they assess the implementation of tasks; and then give examples showing how the restructuring of the methods and the style of the party work progresses, how party resolutions are being implemented.

Experience to date reveals that some editorial offices of district and enterprise newspapers still have not abandoned the accustomed stereotypes, and that a more demanding, analytical approach to depicting reality still has not become a method of their work. Not all editorial collectives in districts and enterprises have prepared themselves equally well for the struggle for the new quality of society. This is also attested to by the fact that, thus far, considerable superficiality, self-serving attitudes, and formalism linger on in many articles.

Missing from the pages of some newspapers are real-life people, role models, analyses of the causes of failures, and constructive search for solutions. It is necessary to eliminate the phenomena of hack work and stereotypes from reporting. [passage omitted]

Criticism, too, is one of the important tasks of local journalists. One demands that they develop it more boldly and thus help to create in society an atmosphere of high exactingness on the quality of work and irreconcilability toward negative phenomena. However, one has to say openly that criticism in the local press has not become the rule everywhere. However, without criticism, which must be truthful, we cannot implement the demanding tasks of restructuring, and develop the democratization process. [passage omitted]

Christian Conference Begins in Prague

AU2807150189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Telex, Post, and Telephone" column]

[Text] On Wednesday [26 July], the Czechoslovak Christian Conference began in Prague's Palace of Culture with the participation of representatives from Denmark, Hungary, the GDR, the FRG, Austria, Sweden, and the United States. It has been organized by the Konstanz Union [Kostnicka Jednota], a voluntary religious association of Czechoslovak evangelists. The conference, with more than 1,000 participants, will last until Saturday [29 July].

Reshuffle in Central Slovak National Committee

AU2807145789

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 July on page 2 carries a 120-word report which states that Zoltan Bocz, until now chairman of the district national committee in Banska Bystrica, has been elected to the post of chairman of the Central Slovak Regional National Committee. The report adds that Bocz replaces Pavel Bolvansky who has been elected as a member and secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium.

Person Killed in Ostrava Gas Explosion

AU2807125389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jul 89 p 1

["se"-signed report: "Gas Explosion in Ostrava"]

[Text] Ostrava (Our correspondent)—One person was killed in a gas explosion which occurred in the Vitkovice coking plant of the Klement Gottwald Iron and Steel Works in Ostrava on Tuesday [25 July]. The accident

happened in the turbo-exhaust area. A rapid intervention by a fire brigade prevented a blaze. The operation of the endangered sections of the gas network was suspended several hours after the accident.

A total of seven employees were injured in the accident; three of them were released after medical treatment. One employee suffered serious injuries.

The cause of the explosion is being investigated.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 20-26 Jul

AU2807084789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 21 to 27 July report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, received Robert Maxwell, the British publisher, in Prague on 21 July. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Miroslav Stepan, received Robert Maxwell in Lany on the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Jul 89 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, accompanied by Miroslav Stepan, attended a reception marking Poland's National Day in Prague on 21 July. (RUDE PRAVO 22 July 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, presented Vaclav Polak, editor in chief of the CTK political department, with the Order of Labor in Prague on 21 July. (RUDE PRAVO 22 July 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, as the head of a CPCZ delegation attending the Frelimo Party Congress in Mozambique, departed from Prague on 23 July. (RUDE PRAVO 24 July 89 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee, visited the Strachotice state farm near Znojmo on 25 July. (RUDE PRAVO 26 July 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, received representatives of the Lehnice Agrokombinat in Bratislava on 25 July. (PRAVDA 26 July 89 p 1)

Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, became acquainted with the progress of harvesting work in Prague on 24 July. (PRAVDA 25 July 89 p 2) He visited the Stavoservis construction enterprise in Prague on 25 July. (RUDE PRAVO 26 July 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, paid a working visit to the Kladno district on 20 July. (RUDE PRAVO 22 July 89 p 2) He met with trade union functionaries at the CKD enterprise in Prague on 21 July. (PRAVDA 22 July 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, received Ramon Bayardo Altamirano Lopez, the outgoing Nicaraguan ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on 20 July. (RUDE PRAVO 21 July 89 p 2) He received Joseph Small, ambassador of the Republic of Ireland to the CSSR, in Prague on 21 July. (PRAVDA 22 July 89 p 2)

Honecker Sends Greetings to Iran's President

LD3007130389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker sent Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani a greetings telegram upon his election as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It expresses the confidence in the further deepening of bilateral relations in the interest of the common efforts at safeguarding world peace and for the benefit of the two states and peoples.

GDR, West Berlin Senat Representatives Meet

AU2907194089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting Between the Representatives of the GDR Government and the Berlin (West) Senat"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The representatives of the GDR Government and of the Berlin (West) Senat, Walter Mueller and Gerhard Kunze, met for another talk on Wednesday [26 July]. During the meeting the GDR representative announced details on the regulations for tourist and visitor's traffic valid for permanent residents of West Berlin as of 1 August 1989, including the possibility to apply for an entry visit for a 1-day visit directly at the border.

Citizens Continue To Flee to West Via Hungary

AU2807145889 Vienna KURIER in German 28 Jul 89 p 15

[Unattributed report: "Fourteen GDR Refugees Within 24 Hours"]

[Text] An increasing number of East Germans flee to the free West via Hungary. From Tuesday to Wednesday [25-26 July]—within 24 hours—14 GDR citizens crossed the green border illegally. Thus the number of GDR refugees since May is 173.

Krolikowski Delivers Speech to Frelimo Members

AU2907205289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "GDR-Mozambique Friendship Has Deep Roots"]

[Text] At the beginning of his speech Werner Krolikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], conveyed fraternal militant greetings from the more than 2 million GDR Communists, the SED Central Committee, and its General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the Fifth Congress of the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo]. He recalled that a few weeks ago the GDR people were able to welcome with cordial friendship Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of Frelimo and of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Steady Consolidation of Cooperation

Our friendship, the cradle of which stands in the time of the beginning of Frelimo's armed struggle for liberation, has gained deep roots in the peoples of the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique. In the spirit of the treaty on friendship and cooperation, which was signed by Erich Honecker and by the unforgotten Comrade Samora Machel and which links our two states, the GDR has made a worthy contribution in politics, economy, education, the health sector, and in culture to the steady consolidation of friendship and affinity between our two parties, states, and peoples since the founding of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the speaker affirmed.

Krolikowski said that at his meeting with Joaquim Chissano Erich Honecker noted: "A regular exchange of views and experiences as well as comprehensive cooperation in basic and advanced training of cares have become supporting pillars of the equal, mutually beneficial relations between our countries. At the same time they are an expression of our active solidarity with your country, which is courageously and creatively following the path of national development in the interest of the people under very complicated conditions."

The SED representative said that we are particularly pleased about the fact that several tens of thousands of Mozambican citizens have received their training as skilled workers or as university or technical school cadres in the GDR. I convey a special greeting from our homeland to those four delegates to your party congress who represent the 18,000 citizens of your country who are currently staying in the GDR.

Referring to the new trends concerning political solutions in the struggle for peace and national independence, which seem to emerge in the southern African region, Werner Krolikowski stressed that they are the result of the outstanding struggle of the front-line states and of the national liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa. The triumph of peace over war is the most important precondition for the people's in southern Africa being able to freely decide on their path of development and for their shaping it in a successful way. Only then "will bullets start to blossom," as one of the most beautiful poems from the period of the Frelimo's liberation struggle says.

In his greetings address, the head of the SED delegation stressed that our two parties and states concur in the basic assessment that the most decisive task for the present and the future of the peoples on all continents is the prevention of a nuclear inferno and of wars in general. The initiated change from confrontation to detente, which has been achieved through struggle, must increasingly determine the international climate and the bilateral, regional, and multilateral relations between the states everywhere. The positive trends in the development of the international situation are, above all, the

result of the dynamic work of the USSR, all other socialist states, the nonaligned movement, and of all peace forces all over the world, Krolikowski said.

Security Only Together

The first promising successes in the struggle for peace do not deceive us about the fact that the struggle for complete nuclear disarmament and radical disarmament in general will be very difficult and protracted, Werner Krolikowski stressed. It would be such a convincing command of reason to better equip 40,000 village pharmacies, which provide help to the people, for the money needed for a combat plane or to better build 1,000 classrooms for 30,000 schoolchildren for the money needed for a combat tank.

It must become an unshakable international-law principle and the practical foreign policy of all states that security and peace are no longer guaranteed by one state opposing another but only by working together, by political means on the bases of peaceful coexistence, the SED politician demanded.

In this spirit, the striving of the most aggressive circles of imperialism in the United States and NATO, who continue to do everything to undermine the process of disarmament and detente and to throw the world back into the cold war, must be permanently thwarted by the fighters for peace all over the world.

Continuing To Be Reliable Fellow-Fighters

The speaker pointed out that at the latest session of the Political Consultative Committee the Warsaw Pact states clearly stated what is most important to make peace more secure and to find a solution to other big global problems: Disarmament and peace, understanding and cooperation must for all times substitute aggression and confrontation. Our earth has bread and work for all people in every country!

In conclusion, Werner Krolikowski expressed his conviction that this party congress will take important decisions for a fruitful, peaceful future of the Mozambican people. For this we wish you as much success as possible from the bottom of our hearts, he said. The delegates of the fifth congress and all members of Frelimo may rest assured that the SED and the GDR will continue to be reliable fellow-fighters, Krolikowski stated.

Interior Minister Meets With PDRY Counterpart

EA2707202289 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1900 GMT 26 Jul 89

[Text] A round of official talks between the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] Interior Ministry delegation, led by Salih Munassar al-Siyayli, Central Committee member, deputy prime minister, and interior minister; and the GDR Interior Ministry delegation, led by Army General Friedrich Dickel, United German Socialist Party Central Committee member and interior minister, were held this morning in Berlin.

In a cordial atmosphere, means of developing different aspects of cooperation, on the basis of the friendship and cooperation agreement between the two friendly countries, were discussed.

Brigadier al-Siyayli presented a detailed explanation of efforts in our country to overcome the difficulties facing our people in the areas of economic, cultural and social development. He explained the process of political, economic and social reform taking place in the PDRY in accordance with the Yemen Socialist Party's documented program. He also heard a detailed explanation of developments in the GDR and of the continuous progress being made in socialist construction. The discussions were attended by the Yemeni ambassador to the GDR.

Annual Trade Protocol Signed With Mongolia

AU3007140789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Purchases Mining Products and Textiles From Mongolia"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The protocol on mutual good deliveries and payments in 1990 was signed in Berlin on Wednesday [26 July] by the deputy trade ministers of the GDR and the Mongolian people's Republic [MPR], Eduard Schwierz and Nadmidin Bawuu [spelling as published]. At the same time further measures to develop economic cooperation were agreed upon.

The signed documents serve the purpose of implementing the agreements made during the official friendship visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, with Shambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and of the "long-term program of the development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the MPR through the year 2000."

The GDR will mainly deliver machinery and equipment for the light industry and the foodstuffs industry, products of electrical engineering, electronics, and of scientific instrument construction, chemical products and consumer goods. From the MPR the GDR will receive mining products, leather and fake fur products, carpets, wool, and other animal products.

Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil, who received Nadmidin Bawuu for a friendly talk, stressed the fact that the mutual economic and trade relations are long-term relations and take place according to plan. The interlocutors concurred that the 1990 annual protocol established favorable preconditions for business between the industrial and foreign trade enterprises of the two countries. The forthcoming Leipzig Fall Fair will also be used for intensive negotiations and the conclusion of contracts.

Delegation Attends Congolese Workers Congress
AU2907182689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "PCT Congress Started Work in Brazzaville"]

[Excerpt] Brazzaville (ADN)—On Wednesday [26 July] the Fourth Ordinary Congress of the Congolese Workers Party (PCT) was opened in the Congress Palace of Brazzaville. The discussions are attended by more than 800 delegates from the African country and by delegations of friendly parties from 48 countries, including a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Guenther Jahn, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Potsdam Bezirk leadership. [passage omitted]

People's Navy Ends Training With Allied Fleets
AU2907193489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Comrades-in-Arms Conclude Naval Training"]

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—During a joint naval training exercise with units of allied fleets, the crews of the People's Navy have achieved outstanding results and have thus realized important competition projects for the 40th anniversary of the Republic. The collectives, which distinguished themselves in the central Baltic Sea through high readiness for action and tactical skills, include the crews of the "Rostock" and "Halle" coastguard ships.

During the high point of the training, which lasted several days, numerous meetings between members of the USSR Baltic Fleet, the Polish Navy, and People's Navy took place.

New Letter by Wilhelm Pieck Found, Published
AU2907192089

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 27 July on page 3, under the headline "New Letter by Wilhelm Pieck From the Komintern Archives," carries a 300-word report by Heinz Vosske, professor at the Marxism-Leninism Institute, on the fact that new research in the Archives of the Communist International has revealed a so far unknown letter by Wilhelm Pieck to Georgiy Dimitrov, proving Pieck's altruistic efforts to save the German comrades who had been arrested and sentenced by Stalin. The report says that the GDR Marxism-Leninism Institute received a copy from the Marxism-Leninism Institute attached to the CPSU Central Committee.

On the same page the paper publishes a faksimile of Pieck's 350-word letter, dated 19 November 1940 and marked confidential.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 19-26 Jul
AU2907193189

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND from 20 to 27 July reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Politburo members Horst Dohlus and Werner Krolikowski attended a reception given by Polish Ambassador Janusz Obodowski, on the 45th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, in Berlin on 21 July. (22-23 Jul, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership attended an environmental conference in Magdeburg on 20 July. (21 Jul, p 2)

Werner Eberlein visited the German Railroads Repair Works in Halberstadt on 21 July. (22-23 Jul, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Paul Tessa, minister of transport and public works of the Republic of Cameroon, in Berlin on 20 July. (21 Jul, p 1)

Guenther Kleiber attended a reception given by the Egyptian Ambassador on his country's National Day in Berlin on 24 July. (25 Jul, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber received Canadian Ambassador Eric John Bergbusch for his farewell visit in Berlin on 24 July. (25 Jul, p 2)

Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, opened the 12th GDR Children's and Youth Spartakiad in Berlin on 24 July. (25 Jul, p 1)

Egon Krenz received Canadian Ambassador Eric John Bergbusch for his farewell visit in Berlin on 26 July. (27 Jul, p 2)

Erich Mueckenberger, Politburo member and president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, spoke at a session of the Friendship Society in Berlin on 25 July. (26 Jul, p 2)

Alfred Neumann, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception given by Colombian Ambassador Luis Villar Borda on his country's National Day in Berlin on 20 July. (21 Jul, p 2)

Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership visited the Dollenchen-Lieskau peasants' cooperation group on 21 July. (22-23 Jul, p 2)

Contingency Plan on Possible Romanian Attack
AU3107121189 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 31 Jul 89 p 3

[Report by Werner Stanzl and Thomas Mayer: "Budapest: Attack by Romania Not Inconceivable"]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna—The Hungarian Government, "in its political responsibility for the fate of the nation, cannot rule out the possibility of an armed confrontation with Romania," DER STANDARD has learned from sources within the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, MSZMP. For this reason, the state and party leadership, in a secret session in November 1988, called on the military leaders to work out a strategic plan on the relative force capabilities "with sand-table exercises" between Romania and Hungary.

One military and one political aspect were particular causes of concern: The border between Hungary and Romania is completely unfortified, and Bucharest is not even willing "to listen" to Hungary's concerns.

This was confirmed by the director of the Foreign Policy Institute, Laszlo Tolany, in a report published in Budapest at the weekend [29-30 July].

Case Analysis

The case analysis was commissioned without any "topical reference," but it was classified as urgent. The result was published in February by the military leadership and has revealed a striking military inferiority of our neighbor Hungary.

Thus, the Romanian Army comprises 171,000 men, whereas the Hungarians have a regular army of 106,000 men. In addition to that, the Romanians have a 300,000-strong militia, whereas the Hungarian paramilitary workers militia has 60,000 members, and Romania has 380 combat aircraft, whereas Hungary has only 113. The Romanians are in a position to attack east Hungarian targets with 30 "Luna M" missiles, and Budapest with 18 R-17 missiles.

The Security-Political and Foreign Policy Department of the Prime Minister's Office of the Hungarian Government quoted the same figures in the latest edition of the Budapest weekly HVG [expansion unknown].

As DER STANDARD was able to find out on Saturday night [29 July], the Hungarian party and state leadership hinted at the "hypothesis of an armed attack by Romania on Hungary" during the past few months and weeks in talks with all neighboring countries. Besides Austria and Romania, Hungary's neighbors are the CSSR, Yugoslavia, and the Soviet Union. These countries had not shown any interest, according to information received by DER STANDARD. "Hungary is once again completely alone," our informant stated.

Austrian Defense Minister Lichal told DER STANDARD in this connection: The competent authority in Austria "is certainly the Foreign Ministry and the foreign minister. Talks have probably already been held, and protests have been lodged with Romania against the destruction of the villages and the nonobservance of human rights, and so on." What he personally finds striking is that international disarmament and detente is accompanied by an "increasing significance" of nationality issues, which might trigger conflicts.

There was nobody available for comment at the Foreign Ministry yesterday, Sunday [30 July].

As we also learned from Budapest, the Hungarian Government has been trying over the past few months through diplomatic channels to "at least raise the issue of a Hungarian-Romanian modus vivendi with a nonagression proviso...in talks with Bucharest." The Romanians replied laconically that there is no "no need" for such a treaty because of the "brotherhood-in-arms" within the Warsaw Pact.

According to information received by DER STANDARD, Hungary has also been trying to explore though diplomatic channels the Soviet standpoint on a possible attack by Romania on Hungary. However, it was not possible to find a partner who was ready to comment on this issue. Hungary must proceed from the fact that the Soviet Union will try to "adopt a equidistant approach aimed at noninterference," the Hungarians were told.

Hungary's efforts, aimed at a rejection of Bucharest's wishes for the modernization of its arsenals by means of Soviet devices failed as well. Moscow hinted that there are agreements and obligations resulting from the Warsaw Pact, "which cannot simply be ignored...because of purely hypothetical fears on the part of Hungary."

According to information received by DER STANDARD, all Warsaw Pact members "urgently recommended to Hungary prior to the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest that it not even hint at this topic." When party leader Karoly Grosz mentioned bilateral relations in his private talk with Romania's state and party leader Nicolae Ceausescu, speaking of an aggressive attitude on the part of Bucharest, Ceausescu allegedly started shouting, as a result of which Grosz ended the talk.

Ceausescu's last sentence is reported to have been: "If you install antitank obstacles on your side of our common border, we consider this a hostile act."

In his analysis in the weekly HVG, Laszlo Tolany warns in this connection that Hungary must be prepared for anything. He refers in detail to the "unpredictability" and the "irrational character" of Romanian policy, whose leading representatives are lacking "a sense of reality." Tolany mentioned the fact that Romanian

troops had come near Budapest both at the end of World War I and World War II, and that they also offered assistance during the 1956 popular uprising.

Nyers Interviewed on Meeting With Gorbachev

LD3007205589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Interview with Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, by unidentified correspondent aboard Nyers' plane on return from Moscow—no video available]

[Text] [Announcer] When at Staroye Plosady, in his working office at the Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev received Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. He started providing details about the Soviet political situation resulting from the strikes almost before Nyers had entered the office. Therefore, the first question in an interview given by Nyers on the plane returning from the visit referred to this.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] This visit came at a rather critical time for the Soviet leadership—during our negotiations, strikes were taking place in several areas. This is the most serious criticism to date of Gorbachev's economic and social policy. How did Gorbachev assess these phenomena, and what kind of solutions did he propose?

[Nyers] Gorbachev deemed that this was not criticism of Gorbachevian policy, but that the workers took a stand because the Gorbachevian policy does not reach their sphere, it does not reach the miners in a concrete manner. Essentially, everything remained unchanged at the mines regarding the old economic management system, the excessively large conglomerations, the role of the directors who could only be seen by the workers at a distance, and also regarding the fact that they felt that decisions on just about everything were made above their heads.

[Correspondent] Does it mean that mid-level management sabotages Gorbachev's decisions?

[Nyers] He did not utter the word sabotage. I think that we are not talking about sabotage simply, but about the fact that this mid-level management layer is unable to find the road of independent action in order to carry out independent reforms in their own area. Of course, it also depends on the central ministries. For example, trusts are at the heart of the power of the centralized ministry, and Gorbachev and his associates have decided to break up these trusts into independent mining enterprises.

[Correspondent] When foreign political issues were discussed, was the Chinese situation mentioned? Meaning the Chinese changes which, I think, negatively affected the sensitive reform processes and the ideas of the parties of both countries.

[Nyers] In a very cautious manner we spoke about China too. We did so cautiously because the situation needs to be assessed in a more precise way and because we are talking about a huge Asian country. When we shape the future of Sino-Soviet or Sino-Hungarian relations, when we initiate or adopt measures, there is need for very thorough thinking. Asia is Asia, whereas China is almost a world in itself.

[Correspondent] Using plain words, one must not condemn the leadership with which one will have to work in the future.

[Nyers] Yes, the peculiarity of China is that it is extraordinarily strong, and I would sum it up that way. It is incorrect to measure by European, Soviet, or Hungarian yardsticks.

Regardless of this, as to the infringement of universal human rights, we made no secret of the fact that we feel this to be a problem, but the assessment of Chinese events is the affair of the Chinese leaders.

[Correspondent] Did you succeed in finding more acceptance for the Hungarian position in regard to CEMA, according to which the present form of cooperation is unsuitable in the future and that fundamentally new things need to be carried out?

[Nyers] We have managed to do that, but speaking in general terms, we already had a similar stance with the Gorbachev leadership. What we did this time, rather, was to fire a shot in advance at a mistaken action; in other words, that we should not allow pseudo-actions, we should not adopt declarations behind which there is no well-prepared or effective reform measure and where there is only the declaration of, let's say, a unified socialist common market. We directed our fire as a warning: Watch out, we must not (?announce) such things without preparation.

[Correspondent] Did you have the information that such spectacular inititives were going to be made by other socialist countries in the near future?

[Nyers] Yes, yes, we have had such information—and in general, it has been a practice in the socialist world that if we were unable to advance, then we choose to march in place; that is, we pretended to be on the move. I reminded Gorbachev that in 1969-71, when we carried out—with my participation—a complex program, it was just such a march in place and that we should not do that again.

[Correspondent] And he accepted this?

[Nyers] He agreed with it.

[Correspondent] What was he most interested in regarding the changes in Hungary? What was he most excited about? The multiparty system, the preparation for the congress, the MSZMP's election chances, or something very different?

[Nyers] Please, the multiparty system did not excite him, he accepts it. He understands and accepts it. They do not endeavor in the Soviet Union to have a multiparty system—the Soviet Union is a peculiar world. I even told him that in my view there already exist 15 parties because of the 15 republics and he accepted this, he agreed with this and what's more, he said...

[Correspondent, interrupting] But they do not want to elevate these to the rank of official parties?

[Nyers] Yes, this is not the type of multiparty system we have. However, he was not exicted or irritated by the multiparty system. The economic situation—Hungarian as well as Soviet—makes him anxious. For him the greatest worry is putting into order and invigorating the Soviet market, improving consumer supply of foodstuffs, primarily, but of other products, too. In this vein, our economic situation irritates him. The MSZMP, the news of the party's uncertain position, did make him anxious, but now that the MSZMP is beginning to find its feet, his anxiety is decreasing.

[Correspondent] Regarding bilateral cooperation, it was possible to hear even before your leaving Budapest that a concrete phase will be assumed by the Hungarian proposal according to which accounting should be made at least partially convertible. Obviously this too was discussed. Meanwhile, in Hungary many economic experts say that the minute this conversation takes place it will present a $1.5 billion loss to the country.

[Nyers] Undoubtably such a transformation has a short-term investment period. The investment must be financed by somebody. Either we finance it together or it is financed by one side only. One side is unable to bear the financing of this; it is conceivable through joint financing, but even then it demands a material investment. However, after this a smooth road is laid for cooperation where the relations can be made dynamic. Well now, the economic experts, who are also responsible for short-term balance, are naturally anxious for these solutions.

I, myself—beyond realpolitik—am a reform politician and Gorbachev is too, we agreed that we must seek a solution and that we must not be afraid, no matter how great the obstacle in front of us may seem, we must surmount it.

[Correspondent] Even if this $1.5 billion would be an almost unbearable burden at the moment?

[Nyers] The $1.5 billion (?is) out of the question. It had never been an issue and it can never be an issue. The Hungarian economy cannot afford $1.5 billion. The means of countermanding [ellentetelezi] this must be found—and this is already a workshop question, not a subject for an interview. This issue is not even very easy to comprehend, but the means of this can be found in the economist workshops.

[Correspondent] Finally, was nationality policy discussed? In connection with this, were Hungarian-Romanian relations referred to, for example?

[Nyers] The nationality policy causes serious worry in the Soviet Union. The existence and the reality of nationality problems are recognized in the Soviet Union. It is on this basis that they seek solution. The Soviet Union itself is the warehouse of nationality problems these days—they intend to hold a special plenum, a Central Committee plenum, about the issue. They are already midway through the preparations: The plenum will be held in the middle of September.

Regarding the nationality issues of Hungary, these are the affair of Hungary. The Hungarian-Romanian relationship is a bilateral matter, not the business of the Soviet Union, nor do we require the USSR to deal with it. I made reference to the Hungarian position; about the fact that we consider this issue on the basis of universal human rights and on the basis of the principle of democratic socialism. This is how we handle it and we take the stand that we should, together with the Romanian leadership, face the problem openly and that we should seek a solution in this way, instead of taking hold of the thin end of the stick, approaching the matter in a short-term, easier way, instead of—how shall I say—looking squarely at the core of the problem.

[Correspondent] What support did this Hungarian stand find in Moscow?

[Nyers] It received understanding, it has been met with comprehension because they themselves look similarly squarely at their own nationality problems. It is definitely not a one-sided issue nor a one-sided viewpoint of the nationality question, but it is a linking of it with democratic and universal human rights. From this point of view our standpoint is indisputable and Gorbachev accepts this entirely. [end recording]

Kotai Reacts to Akhromeyev Remarks on Neutrality
LD2907180989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Interview with Geza Kotai, director of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee International Relations Department, by correspondent Ferenc Ignac Kis on the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Text] [Kis] Geza Kotai, head of a Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee department: I would like to quote a report from the DPA news

agency yesterday. In Washington, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev stated that the Warsaw Pact countries have the right to complete self-determination. If they wish, they can even choose neutrality for themselves. Asked whether Hungary or Poland can become neutral states, Akhromeyev said verbatim that: They can become the kind of countries they want to be. Was Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev now voicing an official Soviet opinion or was he expressing his personal opinion?

[Kotai] It is difficult to judge whether Marshal Akhromeyev was giving a personal opinion or whether someone else is behind this statement. I might recall that Academician Bogomolov earlier made a similar statement. At that time, he was expressing his personal opinion, a hypothesis.

[Kis] Except that when Bogomolov said that even a neutral Hungary would also be conceivable, this was rapidly denied by official sources in the Soviet Union.

[Kotai] We do not know whether Akhromeyev's statement will be denied. However, I emphasize that overall this fits in with contemporary Soviet foreign policy and security policy.

[Kis] If, after all, this were to be an official Soviet stance, could we, even tomorrow, proclaim that Hungary is leaving the Warsaw Pact and is becoming a neutral country?

[Kotai] We cannot declare this. Policy, foreign political action, has its own logic. On the one hand, the history of international relations, the European processes, and Hungarian history caution us that we should not progress forward in large leaps, because in given circumstances this would lead to a painful rollback. So, the issue here is a process, a technology [as heard] which can be carried through with sufficient circumspection and level-headedness, and at the same time, with consistency.

[Kis] Does this statement fit in with the process which is also pointed to by the Western countries, namely that Hungary and Poland should not accelerate the processes too much, processes which are aimed at achieving neutral status?

[Kotai] A vacuum would develop here in the central East European region which would change the balance, the balance of power. It is not really in the interest of Western Europe and the United States either for some kind of disorder to come about in the functioning system of European relations that has developed over decades.

[Kis] The question also arises as to what large power or what regional guarantees are necessary for a neutral status.

[Kotai] Both are necessary. At a minimum, there is a need for a tacit agreement, or at least understanding, between the Soviet Union and the United States, but this is only one of the conditions. Regional guarantees are also necessary. There is a need for a democratic cooperative European system of relations and for a network of bilateral relations, bilateral agreements, that would make a political or any other kind of rollback impossible.

[Kis] Take the issue of regional guarantees, it is very difficult for me to conceive of, let us say, a Czechoslovak, a GDR, or a Romanian guarantee.

[Kotai] The basic thing, naturally, is I say the—at least—tacit understanding of the big powers. If there were a consensus on this and if the international system of relations and European cooperation were such, such a solution could turn into lasting guarantees.

[Kis] Akhromeyev reaffirmed in Washington the Soviet standpoint that the Brezhnev Doctrine is dead. However, do the political statements of intent really guarantee that, in the event there were a rollback, the Soviet Union would not intervene in the East European countries?

[Kotai] This would be contrary to the Soviet Union's interests. It would be contrary to what the Soviet Union, on the basis of a sober situation analysis, is aiming for in Soviet-U.S. relations. It is contrary to the Soviet European policy, to the process which is underway and is unfolding with growing vigor in the Warsaw Treaty, Organization. I am thinking of gradually pushing back the military factor, of reducing its significance, and of placing the main emphasis on foreign policy cooperation. In my judgement, the possibility of such an undesirable frightening step cannot be unequivocally excluded, but I believe there is a very small chance of it happening. I believe that Hungary and Europe have shifted and are progressing unequivocally in a direction in which this could not be a solution.

USSR Official Interviewed in Party Journal

LD2807195389 Budapest MTI in English
1755 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 28 (MTI)—An interview with Valentin Falin, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is carried in the latest issue of UJ FORUM (NEW FORUM), a political periodical of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee.

In response to a question as to how the 1956 events of Hungary are evaluated in the Soviet Union, Mr Falin had the following to say:

"In those years decisions had to be taken under essentially different international and internal conditions than today. The available data testify that the forces opposing the system and intending to carry out a 180 degree turn in the course of social development and the international policy of the country were supported neither by the peasants nor the majority of workers and armed forces nor the substantial part of the professional classes. Moscow was aware of this situation when it decided on the

measures to take. Those who took up arms against the system numbered 12-14,000 and enjoyed support by tens of thousands of people. But if we were to say that the whole country was plunged into turmoil and events took the form of an uprising embracing the whole population, we would be mistaken in the face of facts."

Speaking about the changes taking place in Hungary, Mr Falin said:

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the various generations of the Soviet public follow with great interest the events taking place in the other socialist countries, particularly in Hungary and in Poland. Reform processes are not only taking place at the quickest pace in these countries but are expanding to such areas which we regarded as taboos not long ago.

"These processes are evaluated by us in a similar way as Hungary does. Conservative, centrist and radical views also exist in the Soviet Union. The opinion is widely shared that what is happening in Hungary is primarily the affair of the Hungarian people, being the only ones in a position to decide the manner according to which they want to live and the best course they want to follow. Regarding the multi-party system for example, our history, and partly that of Hungary, shows that neither the single-party, nor the multi-party system provides a guarantee for preventing difficulties and finding the indisputable truth. I do not wish to enter into prophecies on whether the Hungarians will be able to find this truth in the near future, when multi-party system is introduced in parliament. In my view, it is not the number of the parties but their quality and the qualification of their leaders that decide how their policy can meet the challenge of times.

"We in the Soviet Union have already had a period of multi-party system, just after the revolution, riddled with conflicts. In the course of events, only our party was left on the political stage. This had no relation either to the principles of Marxism-Leninism or party organization, but only with specific conditions. Regrettably, there were some people who distorted practice and thereby discredited the idea and the prestige of socialism. Nothing in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism forecasted the unlawful acts and distortions that occurred later, which were also in sharp contradiction to the principles of socialism and especially that of the people's power achieved through such immense sacrifices during the October revolution. Unfortunately, these distortions have also spread to the fraternal and allied socialist countries. We are determined to purify our party, state and social life of all that are incompatible with the concepts of the October revolution, and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism."

Central Committee Discusses Congress, Religion

LD2807191889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress will be one day earlier than planned, on 6 October. This was heard at the party central committee session, which is continuing. A spokesman's briefing was held during a recess. Andras Kerekes reports:

[Kerekes] In the introduction to the press briefing, Jano Kovacs, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, said that on this occasion a package plan was discussed which dealt with the congress' agenda, as well as with the principles of the rules of procedure, the preparations for the election of delegates, the order of work, and the congress' budget.

After an intervening proposal, there also was discussion of what kind of leading and control bodies would be good to create at the congress. Concerning the great majority of issues, it is the right of the congress to make decisions. However, the Central Committee by all means must take the initiative.

The second point on the agenda dealt with the relationship of the party and the church—religion. We shall later hear Janos Berecz on this. My first question was addressed to Jeno Kovacs.

[Begin recording] [Kerekes] Will this congress be the 14th MSZMP Congress, or as the deputy spokesman emphatically stressed, a working congress? In any event, there is something in this which is striking to the unsuspecting observer, namely that the report wishes to go back to May 1988, so it will not encompass a period between two congresses. What is behind this move?

[Kovacs] According to what I remember, the official name of the congress is just MSZMP Congress. Numerous other unusual solutions can be found surrounding the preparations, which, I believe, is entirely normal. A numbered congress is usually held in a party if there is a wish to encompass or qualify the events of a period that has elapsed since a previous congress and to work out some kind of new policy. I believe that what is apparent from any of the MSZMP's statements to date is not that it wishes to effect changes as compared to the past 3 years, but that these changes are much more comprehensive. That is why it would have been inappropriate to present the matter as if it were only one in a number of scheduled congresses.

This is also reflected by the fact that the Central Committee has effected a fine, small alteration in the agenda-title, which is significant in the sense that it tries to give the feeling that it is an attempt not at a traditional rendering of accounts with a report, an account, and other things, rather, it wants to conduct a lively political debate about the situation and about how the MSZMP, the party should change policy, organization, and leading bodies. [end recording]

[Kerekes] Then, I questioned keynote speaker Janos Berecz, about the second point on the agenda.

[Begin recording] [Kerekes] What prompted the MSZMP Central Committee to establish that a turnabout is needed in its stand pertaining to the church-party relations, and what is more interesting, of party-members and religion?

[Berecz] Last year's national party conference, in May, already took a stand in favor of having to guarantee, by law, the various freedom rights, citizens' rights. We understood this as applying to incorporating into law the freedoms of conscience and religious practice. So at first we took, as our point of departure, what principles should the MSZMP represent in the course of creating this law. In the meantime, we found ourselves facing the practice which banned party members from participating in religion, required receiving permission to appear at church functions, and properly speaking, was a hindrance somewhat to relationships with religious people—and to relationships with the churches, as well.

Overall, our policy of alliance was correct, but, for example, in this case in practice we essentially were in contact, via the state, with the people and the churches. It is necessary to eliminate the state from the party church relationship. We are striving in one homeland for national objectives which in many regards are essentially the same. For this reason, it is necessary to find the means and possibility for us to be able to cooperate.

At the same time, in the case of party members, these strict and rigid regulations must be lifted, and it is necessary to ensure freedom of conscience within the [illegible]. All this together means a radical turn about in our church policy.

The Politburo dealt twice with the topic. The members of the Central Committee have already consulted a great deal, and the plan at the most recent session was for this to be discussed. For this reason, the session was thoroughly prepared. We were ready half a year ago. If we had gone forward then, it would have had a sensational effect on public opinion, but the party members would have had greater difficulty in understanding. Now, the party members understand it more easily, but this turn about is not as big a sensation, as provided for by the content. [end recording]

[Kerekes] Meanwhile, the debate has continued in the Central Committee's session-hall about the election-assessment submitted by Gyorgy Fejti. Regarding this, I shall say the following: According to Gyorgy Fejti, it is not possible to draw deep conclusions from the results of the 22 July elections. However, it is striking that participation was lower than it generally is in by-elections. The local party organs for the most part worked in the former manner, which was tangible primarily in the failure to put forward candidates.

The Central Committee session is still going on. At the beginning of the meeting, Janos Kadar, founder member of the MSZMP and retired chairman who had been the party's leader through more than three decades, was remembered. The body praised Janos Kadar's outstanding personality and his political work which was also significant internationally. From Janos Kadar's political legacy it is necessary to master the forward-pointing elements, the Central Committee emphasized, and it was of the judgement that the funeral was an unequivocal political demonstration proved that a significant proportion of the Hungarians, while having acknowledged the need for radical reforms and for comprehensive renewal, recognize that our country's future progress lies in preserving the lasting values of the Kadarite legacy.

Berecz Describes Session

LD2807215889 Budapest MTI in English 1933 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 28 (MTI)—On Friday, Emil Kimmel, deputy spokesman, Jeno Kovacs, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the Central Committee and Janos Berecz, member of the Central Committee, informed the press on the session of the Central Committee.

Mr Kimmel said that the Central Committee paid tribute to the memory of Janos Kadar and appreciated his undying merits. It was emphasized that the constructive elements of his political heritate should be taken over. The Central Committee expressed thanks to the tens of thousands of people who had paid tribute at the bier and grave of the one-time party leader.

The Central Committee evaluated Janos Kadar's funeral as a political demonstration, which proved that a considerable part of the population, recognizing the necessity of reforms and comprehensive renewal, holds it important to preserve the lasting values of Kadar's heritage as a token of the country's progress, Mr Kimmel said.

Concerning preparations for the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress, Mr Kovacs said that the Central Committee had discussed a package including proposals for the agenda and the rules of the congress, and the preparations of elections, a concept on the cost of organization, and a statement based on the experience of previous debates over the expedient leading and control bodies to be set up by the congress. The ways of organizing delegates' groups and the congress itself triggered off the keenest debate between the traditionalist and reform-minded forces.

The agenda of the congress will feature a report on Hungary's political situation and the tasks, and the evaluation of the past one or one and a half years. Mr Kovacs said that the decision on starting the congress one day earlier than scheduled was made in view of the expected keen debates over the items on the agenda, for which the previously specified period would not provide ample time.

In reply to a question, Mr Berecz said that the report on the topic of churches was put forward by himself because he was in charge of preparations as well and the HSWP Presidium decided that the change in his function (he

used to be a Central Committee secretary and a PC [Political Committee] member) did not make it necessary for the report to be presented by someone else. Mr Berecz said that the Central Committee had never dealt with the relationship between the party and the churches, the party members and religious people. This issue used to be regulated by an internal resolution of the Political Committee.

It was agreed that a turn is required in this field: The party should seek to establish direct contacts with the faithful and the churches, making it possible for the party members not to follow the so far prevailing ideological principles. Mr Berecz emphasized that the HSWP is not an atheist party but a party committed to the cause of social progress. The good traditions should be continued. Making the free exercise of religion complete, the dialogue between Marxists and the faithful should continue on the highest level. Mr Berecz added that the internal norms of the party had to be transformed accordingly.

Mr Berecz emphasized the need of abandoning the inflexible rules and guaranteeing freedom of conscience within the party.

Mr Kimmel said that the Central Committee had evaluated the Hungarian-Soviet and Hungarian-Czechoslovak summit meetings that had taken place in Bucharest, and noted that, on a Romanian initiative, there had been a meeting between Hungarian and Romanian party leaders. The Central Committee heard a report on the visit to George Bush. Concerning the Moscow talks of the HSWP leaders, the Central Committee expressed the hope that the European processes and the international situation would show a favourable trend, making it possible to withdraw all Soviet troops. The Central Committee passed decisions on personnel affairs. It relieved Janos Berecz of the post of head of the Social Policy Committee and appointed Janos Barabas, secretary of the Central Committee, as his successor. Andras Toth was appointed to succeed Jeno Kovacs as heard of the party policy department. (Mr Kovacs was relieved of his post in the previous Central Committee session).

Central Committee Communique

LD2907190889 Budapest MTI in English
1746 GMT 29 Jul 89

["HSWP Central Committee Session—Communique 'Abridged'"]

[Text] Budapest, July 29 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [HSWP] held a session on July 28, 1989.

The Central Committee commemorated the late Janos Kadar, founding member of the HSWP, its retired president, who had been leader of the party for three decades. The body praised Mr Kadar's outstanding personality and his internationally acknowledged political activity.

The funeral of Janos Kadar was also a political demonstration testifying to the fact that a considerable part of the population regards the preservation of the values of the Kadar legacy inevitable to radical reform and overall renewal.

The Central Committee acknowledged and approved the report on the Bucharest session of the political advisory body of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and welcomed the position the allied socialist countries have made to continue an active foreign policy based on a new way of thinking. The HSWP feels solidarity with the efforts of socialist countries trying to find the course of advance, and wishes to make use of their experience. At the same time, it expects their understanding of, and confidence in, Hungarian reforms.

The HSWP aims to expand cooperation built on mutual respect and confidence with socialist countries. The Central Committee approves of the reinforcement of the political character of the Warsaw Treaty and the efforts to modernize its activity.

The Central Committee considers it important that during the session of the political advisory body, top-level Hungarian-Soviet and Hungarian-Czechoslovak meetings were held in the spirit of strengthening cooperation.

At the Romanian initiative, there was also a non-official Hungarian-Romanian meeting of party leaders. The Central Committee welcomes the fact that the HSWP representatives described what the Hungarian standpoint was on the long-standing problems aggravating relations between the two countries. The body is convinced that in order to improve Hungarian-Romanian relations, it is as necessary to resolutely and openly stand for this position as to draw a clear line between differences and common interests, to have patience and to show a readiness to cooperate.

The Central Committee approved the report on the Moscow visit by the HSWP president and general secretary. It concluded that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are on common terms as regards major questions concerning the renewal of socialism. It seems to be of great importance that the CPSU understands and supports the endeavours of the HSWP.

The Central Committee agrees that further steps are necessary in order to continue the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. It is convinced that by virtue of European arms control and the further improvement of the international climate, it will be possible to pull out all Soviet troops.

The Central Committee was briefed on the Hungarian visit of George Bush, President of the United States of America. It was able to state that the visit had well served the foreign policy endeavours of the nation and the interests of the Hungarian people.

The Central Committee convened the HSWP congress for a day earlier than scheduled, October 6 instead of October 7.

The body recommends that the congress should discuss the party's political situation, its tasks, manifesto, and organzational rules, as well as appoint its leading bodies. It also finds it necessary that the schedule of the congress, its agenda rules, budget and appearance should equally indicate that the HSWP is an advocate of democratic, rational and economical arrangements. The Central Committee also took a stand for making the congress open to as wide a circle of the public as possible.

The body recommends for consideration that delegates should elect a national presidium instead of a central committee in addition to a national party committee. It suggests that the national presidium should comprise the president, vice-presidents, executive secretary, nationwide secretaries and the head of the HSWP's parliamentary group, as well as a further 7-10 members. It seems to be rational to set up the national committee—which would consist of people directly appointed by party organizations—after the congress, according to the new organizational rules. The Central Committee recommends that the congress appoint a chairman for the national coordinating committee, as well as a chairman and members for the Central Control Committee. The Central Committee passed a position on the relationship of the party to churches and religion. At the same time, it made a proposal on the principles on which the law on freedom of conscience and religion should be based.

In the spirit of the democratic renewal of Hungarian society and the advance in political pluralism, the HSWP's policy in church and religious affairs should also be transformed. Differing ideologies should not prevent the union of progressive forces. The HSWP aims to establish direct contacts with the churches and religious people who are ready to unite to serve their homeland and nation. The HSWP does not want to abandon the representation and propagation of Marxist ideology, but will respect the right of its members to pursue a different ideology.

The Central Committee surveyed the experience gained in the course of the first round of parliamentary by-elections on July 22, 1989. The lesson seems to be that the HSWP should make a greater effort to prepare for the elections. The Central Committee initiates that the country should prepare for October 23, 1989, in the spirit of national reconciliation. The commemoration should express our undertaking the legacy of the struggle for democratic principles, socialist renewal and national sovereignty. The Central Committee:

—Relieved Janos Berecz from his post as chairman of the Central Committee's social political committee, and
—Appointed Janos Barabas as chairman of the Central Committee's social political committee.
—Appointed Andras Toth as head of the Central Committee's party political department.

At the request of several party organizations, the HSWP committee for controlling congressionary mandate dealt with some procedural questions in connection with the election of delegates. It passed a position that voting will only be deemed valid if more than half of those eligible to vote attend.

Roundtable Participants Discuss Party Funding
LD2807122989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The participants in the national roundtable held a closed session in the National Assembly building yesterday. According to reports in the national papers, at the trilateral political coordination negotiations no agreement was reached as to what should happen with the wealth of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] in regard to how the financing of the new parties should be affected.

The MSZMP has protested against linking the budget support for the new organization with the party's assets because the party acquired this wealth legally and therefore it has the right to decide how it is used. In contrast, the participants in the opposition roundtable are aggrieved that, while the government intends to provide a 50-million-forint subsidy to the new parties, the DEMISZ [Democratic Youth Alliance], the successor to the KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League], alone receives 12 times as much. In the view of the opposition roundtable, the funds allocated to the social organizations should be frozen and the methods of financing the parties and how it is affected should be decided after the elections.

There was also a dispute regarding the party organizations at workplaces. According to MSZMP thinking, parties could work at the workplaces with equal opportunities and alongside each other. In the view of the opposition roundtable, this equality of opportunity is lacking and a law should forbid the operation of party organizations at the workplace.

Regarding the armed forces, the opposition roundtable insists only on ruling out that a party member can fill a leading position.

Journalists were not allowed to attend the session. Our correspondent, Jozsef Orosz, has learned from representatives of the opposition roundtable that Gyorgy Szabad read a petition yesterday. According to it—and this is how the opposition roundtable put it—a number of deputies who are MSZMP members are preparing for a National Assembly coup in September. They will propose the dissolution of the National Assembly and a call for extraordinary elections.

Jaruzelski Resigns; Rakowski New Party Leader

Jaruzelski Speaks at Plenum

LD2807101489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Shortly after 1000, the second part of the 13th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum began. Even before the opening of the proceedings, Wojciech Jaruzelski received congratulations from members of the Central Committee in connection with his election to the post of president of the Polish People's Republic. Opening the proceedings, the Central Committee first secretary said that we have gathered at one of the most important Central Committee plenums since the 10th congress.

The attention of the whole party and a considerable section of working people of our country is once again concentrated on this hall. This is because we will be examining various political issues of the greatest importance, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. In this debate, we must not, however, break from matters which absorb society today, in the summer of 1989. We ought to conduct an honest, even painful, assessment of the situation in which we find ourselves after the roundtable deliberations, Wojciech Jaruzelski emphasized. We ought to answer the basic question of what, as a party, we support, which solutions in political and economic life we will be initiating and supporting, and what we are opposed to and what we will be fighting against. This is what members of the PZPR and a considerable section of the working people await from us.

Next, the Central Committee first secretary proposed the agenda, which is composed of introductions to the discussion, the introduction by Janusz Reykowski on the subject of an assessment of the elections to the Sejm and Senate, and next, that of Marian Orzechowski, on the problems of the [word indistinct] of the party and, thirdly, a speech by Wladyslaw Baka on the country's economic situation and the directions of its improvement. After a short discussion, the agenda proposed by the Central Committee first secretary was accepted, and a commission of resolutions of the 13th plenum was appointed.

Politburo member Janusz Reykowski read a summary of a report in which he presented the main points of a Politburo document for the second part of the 13th plenum. The text of the report had been distributed previously to participants in the debates.

He drew attention to the fact that the decision to hold elections and the linked concept of a new form of (?Polish) state authorities was the result of a new strategy by the party [word indistinct] at the 10th Central Committee Plenum. This was essential due to the methods of rule employed to date, which has its roots in the forties and [passage indistinct].

It was therefore decided that a basic restructuring of the political system was an urgent necessity. The main goal of the restructuring has to be the implementation of changes to guarantee the strengthening of the socialist state, (?making it) capable of carrying out essential economic reforms. The strengthening of the state is not possible if significant parts of society [passage indistinct].

He also pointed out the weakness of the party as a participant in political battles and mistakes made in planning the campaign and in the way it was conducted. From these mistakes (?one can draw conclusions) which underline that this strategy turned out to be positive, in the end, since it permits (?revolutionary) changes to take place. But it is impossible not to notice that the dangerous effect of this (?second choice) is a certain weakening of the government-coalition ties and that it has also had a great and negative influence on the party itself—which must have had something to do with depressing the mood within party ranks.

And this is all in our report on the main themes of the politburo report on the election campaign.

Marian Orzechowski also spoke about the problems and the future of the party. His address concluded just a moment ago.

Jaruzelski, Reykowski at Plenum

LD2807141389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1027 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] We now broadcast a report from the debates of the second part of the 13th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Plenum.

The debates began at 1000 [0800 GMT]. Those participating in the plenum congratulated Wojciech Jaruzelski on his election as president of the Polish People's Republic. Wojciech Jaruzelski then took the floor

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Esteemed comrades! I hereby open the debates of the second part of the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. We have gathered at one of the most important plenary sessions since the 10th congress, and before the 11th congress, of which the approximate date should be settled shortly.

In accordance with earlier resolutions and in view of the particular importance of the problems with which we are faced, we have also invited the members of the PZPR parliamentary floor group to attend the second part of the 13th plenum. This fact conclusively proves how much importance the party leadership attaches to parliamentary diversity to the political role of our comrade deputies.

The attention of the whole party once again focuses on this hall, of a significant majority of the working people of our country. I do not doubt that our debates will also be observed closely by the fraternal parties abroad and the international public. We shall be examining weighty and

varied political matters, for today's Poland is varied, with many assorted trends running through it. However not for a moment should we lose touch with the (?earth), with the cares and pains of [words indistinct], with that which really fills the life of Polish people in the summer of 1989. One must never lose the feeling of serving the nation.

Our plenum should furnish answers to the questions, doubts, and indecisions which today are tormenting the party. It should contribute to its strengh and unity. In discussions, in the documents which we approve, we should carry out a deep and realistic—until it hurts—assessment of the situation in which we found ourselves after the roundtable debates, after the bitter lesson of the recent elections.

Looking at the future, the immediate future and the more distant future, we should particularly answer the question of what we as a party support, what we are going to defend and what we will oppose and fight, and above all, what solutions in political, social, and economic life we are going to initiate, support, and advocate.

In effect these are questions regarding the future shape of the party which, by moving away from the outmoded and inefficient ways of filling its role, will have to strive constantly and persistently for influence and the public's trust and to confirm them with concrete achievements. This will depend on both its position and its significance in the coalition system of exerting power, in the process of national agreement, and in the whole of the political landscape of Poland.

Our country is changing, socialism is changing, the party is changing. This is normal; it is in accordance with the laws of history. The important thing is that these changes serve our homeland well, that we prove once again that the PZPR will go boldly along the road to reforms, to progress, and responsibility. [end recording]

The first secretary of the Central Committee also presented the agenda, which was accepted after a short discussion. Professor Janusz Reykowski put forward the main themes of a report which the participants of the plenum had received earlier.

[Begin Reykowski recording] In assessing the course and the results of the elections one must take into account, first and foremost, those political and socioeconomic circumstances in which the decision to hold the election was taken.

It was, as everyone knows, the result of a strategy formulated at the 10th Plenum, but at its root lay the awareness that our country, our party, and the whole of the socialist edifice had found themselves in a crisis situation. The main symptom of this crisis is the fact that our economy has lost its development capabilities. What is more, for many years now, it has been incapable of meeting the basic social needs to a satisfactory degree. A far-reaching and deep insufficiency touches all areas of our lives—the housing sphere and those of the health service, education and culture, transport, and telecommunications. Just recently we have been experiencing painful difficulties even in getting food.

Since the early eighties, attempts have been made to carry out thorough economic reforms. The results of these attempts can hardly be termed satisfactory. It is true that they were implemented in extremely unfavorable conditons. May I just mention here such factors as economic indebtedness, Western restrictions, and a long period of political struggle in work enterprises. But this does not change the fact that a fundamentally significant factor was the way power was exercised. As the years went by, the awareness of the fact became ever more widespread. A conviction grew within the party that the way of exercising power shaped in the late forties did not suit the present day. Not only did it not respond to the democratic aspirations widely held in our country, but it was also a source of conflicts which it was incapable of solving. The social base of the authorities was far too restricted; therefore, it did not have enough strength to be able to consistently implement the program of reforms.

An expression of the divergences which took place in this area was the expansion and the shaping of the political opposition. A political opposition is not a circumstantial phenomenon [nie jest zjawiskiem koniunkturalnym] in Poland; it has been present in our public life throughout the entire postwar period. For some time now, its influence has grown considerably, particularly in the intelligentsia and working milieux. It has also encompassed the youth, among whom radical moods have begun to grow.

All this created a threat to social peace and the stability of the state. It had a restraining or outright paralyzing influence on the process of reform. It placed before us the need for a fundamental restructuring of the political system. The main aim of the restructuring of the political system must be to bring about changes in it which would guarantee a strengthening of the socialist state, making it capable of conducting imperative economic reforms.

The strengthening of the state is not possible if significant segments of society feel alienated within it; if the opposition, expressing the views of important and numerous segments of society, finds itself outside the political system. The strengthening of the state is also not possible if it does not fulfill the democratic aspirations of society—the June elections. Without them, a fundamental change in the methods of governing could not be achieved. Their postponement could not be permitted. Conducting the elections at a later time could only be worse.

The specter of serious social conflict hangs over Poland. The tactics which the party applied in the elections were connected to an assessment of the sociopolitical situation. It transpired from this assessment that individual coalition candidates could have greater electoral chances than the coalition as a whole. Thus, the campaign was

geared toward individuals. This resulted in the necessity to give regional cells the right to choose candidates and their campaign method. The nonconfrontational style of the campaign was also adopted. It was felt that we must avoid the radicalization of moods.

Often we heard the opinion that the party could not win these elections. It could not, since the mood of the public—which associates the abbreviation 'PZPR' with economic and political crises, with Stalinism, bureaucracy, with the arrogance and incompetance of the authorities, the pathology of the daily functioning of institutions, directed mostly by party members—was against it. It transpired from this approach, (it would appear?), that it was a mistake to enter into the elections. To those who formulate this accusation, we ought to put this question: What would have happened if we had retained our former positions, limiting ourselves more or less to cosmetic changes?

What resources would we have used to solve social conflicts that we have to deal with even now and might have had to deal with in the approaching months? After all, despite our objectively difficult situation, the result of the elections was not a foregone conclusion. We must not forget that, during the elections, phenomena which must have had a negative influence on their result appeared or were revealed. Here we can, above all, cite: Firstly, the rapidly deteriorating socioeconomic situation during the campaign. Unfortunately, we did not manage to control the disintegration processes in the market. This even led to a wave of rural strikes, highly unfavorable for our chances, in those areas which could be expected to support our candidates.

Secondly, it transpired that the ability of the party to mobilize for the electoral fight was low. At almost every step during the campaign it became obvious that we were losing ground to our political rival—in street propaganda, in organization, in aggressiveness, and combat-readiness.

Thirdly, certain important mistakes were made in planning the campaign and the method of conducting it. A long list of these mistakes has been cited in the material presented to the comrades. We must add one more subject to the list cited here, which is very often raised by members of the parliamentary floor group of our party. They draw attention to the fact that, in certain voivodships, the proper backing for party candidates was lacking, that the conditions for conducting the campaign were not equal for party candidates, and that also there were cases of undignified methods of fighting opponents possessing the same membership. This creates the need to take action to help remove the (basis?) for this resentment.

This is also an important lesson for the future. What are the consequences of this course and the result of the elections? The fact is that the party, along with the entire coalition, lost these elections. The dimensions of the electoral defeat took party members by surprise. They had a real political and psychological shock. Many recognized it as a rejection by a decided majority of the public of the ineffective system of managing and the former methods and ways of governing. It was also recognized as proof of the low level of public trust and support for our party.

Of course, defeat should not in any way be (?prettied up), but in assessing the results of the elections, we must not fall into exaggeration. Above all, we must not fail to notice that the coalition, in winning approximately 25 percent of the votes for the Senate and also around 48 percent of votes for candidates on the national list, admittedly turned out to be a minority, but a significant minority.

In any case, this result undermines the right of the opposition, in spite of its electoral victory, to speak on behalf of Polish society as a whole. Acknowledging the coalition's defeat, we must at the same time be aware that it does not strike a blow at the strategic aims which we set in taking up the work of political reform. In creating a political system which is acquiring a considerably broader social base, we have at the same time preserved indispensible guarantees of systemic order and the evolutionary nature of transformations.

Despite the highly unfavorable socioeconomic situation, the preservation of social order turns out to be possible. The way of strikes which appeared in past months did not lead to violent political conflict. On the contrary, the lack of political support for strike action on the part of the opposition facilitated the solution of the strikes.

The raising of Poland's international prestige deserves emphasis. A dangerous effect of the electoral defeat is the weakening of links within the coalition. The clearest, and at the same time most dangerous manifestation of this weakening was the course of the presidential elections in the National Assembly. The results of the elections have serious consequences for our party. This is a dangerous phenomenon for our country. The entire strategy of evolutionary transformations, the building in Poland of democratic order with a socialist face, is based on the assumption that it is supported by a political force possessing the proper authority. A weak and divided party would not be capable of playing this role. [end recording]

The next speakers were Marian Orzechowski and Wladyslaw Baka. Excerpts from these speeches will be presented in our next report at 1410 [1210 GMT].

Orzechowski Addresses Plenum

LD2807150989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1210 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Speech by Polish United Workers Party Politburo member Marian Orzechowski PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 28 July—recorded]

[Text] The assessments and statements which we draw up should above all be truthful and therefore in line with society's experience, with realities. If it is bad, it is bad:

It must not be either denied or ignored. Words and declarations are not the point anyway. The point is a new content of the strategy of accord and struggle—more specifically, with whom and against what, and over what? Where and by what methods? The draft resolution contains the outlines of such a program [words indistinct]. Two million party people and the great mass of our sympathizers and friends are watching those assembled in this hall today with hope but also with trepidation. They are troubled by the fundamental questions: What will we decide? Will we be capable of looking the truth bravely in the face, however painful? Will we draw the right conclusions? Will we agree on an unambiguous, aggressive trend of all-party action? That, comrades, is the measure of our joint responsibility.

The majority of society has had enough of the party as it has been up to now; of the present way of exerting power and rule. No juggling of facts, numbers, or percentages will change that evaluation if we ourselves don't change, as a whole party, quickly and fundamentally. The second truth: A considerable part of the party base has had enough of the style and effects of the action of the present leadership, of the way decisions are taken, of the way of communicating with party people, with basic party organizations and the aktiv. It is out of this belief that the opinions being voiced in our ranks arise, that the 13th plenum is the last hope for the party. The elections to the Sejm and the Senate were like a thermometer: They showed the high temperature of the whole sociopolitical system. The elections confirmed the aspirations of the majority of society for genuine and profound transformations. The economy was brought to such a dramatic situation, that there is no way through without real sacrifices by society. It must therefore be said clearly what the inevitable results of the marketing of agriculture, the restructuring of industry, the implementation of the entire program of adaptation will be. It must also be asked when we will benefit and what the benefit will be.

The development of events in the past few months shows that it was a mistake to ignore the assessments formulated in our ranks.

Respect for them might have forestalled the extreme heightening of tension in the market and supply situation without having to deviate from the fundamental path of economic reforms.

For millions of Poles economic issues today have a crucial significance; they are a measure of the quality of everyday life. We should have no illusions: The path toward reviving the party's social reputation leads first and foremost through revival of the Polish economy, lifting it out of the crisis, nursing it back to normality, and liberating Polish families from everyday torment.

Comrades! The elections have brought no solution to any of the socioeconomic and political problems, except for one thing: in Poland now nothing creative can be done single-handedly—the party and the coalition against the opposition and the other way around the opposition against the party and the coalition. This dictates, above all, the essential need to maintain the cohesion of the emerging cooperation of the three parties and the three Catholic associations. Only together will we have a chance of achieving what each of us is aiming for individually.

We are well aware that in the party, after the recent elections and especially after the presidential elections, there have arisen many resentments and grievances against out allies in the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. This is dictated by emotions. They must be rejected and one must rise above them. There is no room for resentments in politics at a time when the fate of Poland, decided, its future, and the direction of its development are being decided. One must understand that in the attitudes of part of our coalition allies there lies a specific reaction to the years and perhaps even decades of our encroachments them, our treatment of them with the sense of our own superiority—often with arrogance and contempt.

The future and the character of the coalition, at a time when as a party we have but 38 percent minority in the Sejm, is a question of to be or not to be as far as the stability of the state is concerned, this is a condition for its functioning capacity. One must draw conclusions from this.

Comrades! In contemporary Poland, in the Poland of the present day, all are tired: Everybody wants changes for the better. The dissolution of an inefficient, bureaucratic system of exercising power, an inefficient model of management, has nothing to do with the dismantling of socialism.

It means, in fact, a striving toward socialism; toward a reality in line with its very essence. Socialism is, after all, nothing other than better meeting the material and spiritual needs of working people, in conditions of liberty, equality, and human dignity. We will not build socialism on our own. Allies and partners are needed here. For this reason, too, we need to take a new approach to Solidarity. It comprises many currents. We must and we will support the current which arises out of social protest against bureaucracy and local setups. We can and should cooperate with the current effort to defend workers' rights. But we will compete against and struggle with those who represent political and program arguments which conflict with ours.

At the same time, we must do everything to create the necessary conditions for setting up new political parties and for their effective action, supported by Polish society and Polish funds.

Comrades! The party today is full of fears and unease about the future of the state and society, about the future of socialism, and about its own future as a political force. The strategic conclusion emerges from past experiences.

Our party's mission must become political struggle with what conflicts with the interests of people making a living by their own work—and that struggle must be everywhere and with everybody, from bureaucratism and arrogance in our party activity, in the activity of the government and the functioning of the people's state (?to) the proponents of restoration of the brutal laws of capitalism. Today and in the future we should be guided by this slogan: We will defend the interests and rights of working people as the most priceless values.

The party's closest mass social ally is and will be the socio-professional movement organized in the National Trade Union Accord and the National Union of Farmers, Agricultural Circles, and Organizations. We are and will be linked to them by organic links, a common system of values, ideals, goals, and long-term aspirations. The party is not and cannot be an instrument to achieve goals other than those which emerge from the system of values and ideals of socialism.

And it may be (?that), in conditions of collapse, it was the subject of instrumental treatment and manipulation; a means to achieving personal position in the hierarchy of power. That is an enormous danger for the party. The need has arisen to begin direct preparations for the 11th congress. That is the stance of the Politburo. We express it in the draft resolution. But we must realize that the congress in itself is not and cannot be a miracle drug for all the ailments troubling the party and its members. What we achieve before the congress will be very important. For this very reason, I personally think the phrase "the 11th congress as soon as possible" is apt. This means that the congress will be brought forward; that what concerns the identity of the party, the program and the statute will be discussed before the congress in fundamental [word indistinct]; that delegates will be elected who reflect the actual state of the party, its strivings and its hopes; that the whole party, and not just the delegates, will come to the congress well-prepared. The party still has a chance and the vital trump cards to take the strategic initiative, to unite the forces of the left and social progress, and to act effectively and efficiently in order to regain society's trust. The fundamental condition is to maintain party unity, unity understood as a community of people, ideas and organizations, but above all unity of action around definite goals, aspirations, and strivings and especially unity of political struggle for the future of Poland, a struggle which is already in progress and which will intensify.

Baka Addresses 28 Jul Session

LD2807171289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1222 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Speech by Prof Wladyslaw Baka, Central Committee economic secretary, at the 28 July Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! Less than a year ago the Central Committee made a severe and critical evaluation of the socioeconomic situation. At the eighth plenum, in August 1988, it was ascertained that social dissatisfaction had grown to a dangerous extent. It was caused by the difficulties of everyday life, the lack of many basic goods on the market, high prices, the incorrect functioning of services, the increasing degradation of the natural environment. The government's economic policy was negatively evaluated, as was the method of reforming the economy. Then recognized as the most urgent aims were the improvement of market supply and also the conditions of carrying out purchases, the slowing down of the regress in house construction, the limitation of the scale of inflation, and the stopping of the fall in money's purchasing power.

That was a year ago. Statistical assessments, actual practice, and the perceptions of people make clear that not only have we not come close to the aims sketched out a year ago, but, quite the contrary. The situation has drastically worsened. There has altogether ensued a breakdown of the market. The crisis in house construction has deepened. Inflation is beating all records; the exchange rate for the dollar has reached soaring, utterly absurd levels. The Polish zloty is becoming a scrap of paper. The key matter now is giving a reply as to why, despite the party determination shown a year ago, despite the sketching out of a precise line of action, concrete roads and activities leading to making the economy healthy, there has come about such a dramatic worsening of the situation.

Secondly, what must be done so that in a year we do not again confirm, in so far of course as it will still be politically possible, that there has ensued a further regression. But, so that we can rather say that, finally, the crisis in the Polish economy has passed, and that we are also beginning to successfully resolve matters that are most important for the material living conditions of the people. That is why, especially, certain declarations and expectations have not been clarified. Often expectations are publicly presented, (?and) do not come about. I judge that it is necessary to carry out an especially thorough analysis of whether, in the very process of managing the economy, the economic activity of the government's economic team, errors have not been committed; whether the conception of activity of the team was appropriate, measuring up to the conditions, measuring up to the needs, and measuring up to the times.

Market-orientation is not accompanied by the indispensable conditioning activities for the whole process of transformations, a rather too straightforward and even naive approach, that just dropping markets in at the deep end in many areas will bring about an improvment, irrespective of the circumstances and irrespective of the conditions. It could not be thus, and that is not how it happened. The market can produce very good things, it can bring about a growth of efficiency if the substantive, financial, institutional, and also other conditions are fulfilled. This market can bring about the collapse of the economy, erosion, and great deformations of incomes. It can bring about a social crisis if these conditions are not fulfilled.

In the [word indistinct] of the government there was not enough of an examination of all the factors which would make it possible to assess whether conditions permit (?it), sharply, how sharply, how deeply, on a particular stretch of the market line. In particular, it proved impossible to overcome and, at the same time, sufficient efforts were not made so it proved impossible to overcome the excessive outflow of money. The mechanism that has been introduced, especially the mechanism for shaping incomes has been literalized, I might add, in comparison with 1988 [as heard].

Margins in the prices system, the possibility of creating, of the very easy formation of great means of the financial enterprises without any sort of link with the input of work is one of the very fundamental mistakes and flaws which occurred in our economy. They occurred to a lesser or greater extent in the past; but this year they achieved, and I do not hesitate to use the word, horrendous dimension. A breakdown in the system of foreign trade occurred; here again we have the good and the bad. The good thing is that a liberalization took place, a demonopolization in foreign trade, a very considerable revitalization.

At the same time, however, mechanisms were not introduced that would have encouraged the essential controlling of both the (?flow) of exports and imports. As a result of this, great difficulties arose with supplying our industry, co-production links were broken; there were production stoppages. As a result of this the effectiveness of export and import decreased in many sectors. Important (?discrepancies) occurred in the legislative-normative sphere. The change in the tax system for enterprises, although directionally correct, fundamentally changed the financial situation of state enterprises, often without any reference to real effectiveness. Elements of discrimination occurred, as regards the conditions of economic activity of the state sector in comparison with other ownership sectors. This led to a decrease in the wage attractiveness of this state sector.

As a result we deal with a negative—from the point of view of social effectiveness—outflow of employees from the state sector enterprises, which enjoy higher productivity, to the enterprises which distinguish themselves with low economic level but which operate on more advantageous tax, price, and pay principles. What should be done? The issue must be viewed on two planes. Taking the package of ad hoc measures is indispensable it is meant for the coming 2 or 3 months. These are ad hoc measures that would reach all the instruments for action and which would involve all spheres of economy so that the substance can be saved, so that the market can be improved in a significant way. These actions should involve both the material sphere, for example we think that there should take place a fundamental cut in investment program sphere [as heard]. At the same time there exists a need to review the many elements of the policy, strategy even when devising a medium-term program for 2, 3 years. I think that the following features of this program can be presented: It should certainly be a consistent market-oriented program. This is a permanent feature. The second element of this program is, in a sense, what we have today, a novelty. Namely, one cannot duck from using state interventionism, if the economy is in such a situation as it is today. Even the capitalist countries, for whom market is a fundamental doctrine, do not hesitate to introduce the elements of interventionism whenever there is a drastic imbalance.

Marketization is the theme of the day. The commission has expressed full support for the program to transfer the food economy to the new principles the market principles. Full support. The commission, however, holds the opinion that it should be done according to conditions described in the roundtable accords, because, inter alia, the accords say the fundamental elements of the marketization must be agreed upon with the trade unions. The roundtable document is a significant political document. If this condition is not fulfilled, it is clear that a serious social movement can oppose this. This should be avoided at any cost.

The commission holds the opinion that the marketization should be carried out as soon as it is possible, but also as safely as necessary, especially when the matter is looked at from the point of view of a farmer. So, the commission thinks that in the marketization the necessity to ensure a relevant quantity of deliveries of consumer goods to the farmers should be taken into consideration as well as means for agricultural production so that the increased incomes of the farmers can find the adequate commodity backing so that these incomes are not just additional money without the commodity backing [as heard].

As a consequence the commission proposes to perform quick changes in the structure of the investment policies and also in the raw material and material backing of industry that manufactures for agriculture. Is it necessary? It is necessary. The commission also deems necessary to perform, fast and far more energetically than in the past, the demonopolization in the sphere of the contract-purchasing turnover of food products, as well as the elimination of bureaucratic regulations causing the loss of time for farmers and making the rationalization of farming process in agriculture more difficult.

We judge that without fulfilling these conditions this additional money and resources that get into the hands of farmers will fulfill neither the expectations of farmers nor the expectations of the national economy. We had to put the question: In what way and to what extent and on what principles will this compensation be implemented? In what way will the old-age and disability pensioner receive this compensation, and when? We were also concerned to grant a reply. Are we certain that there will not ensure such a geographical transformation of the structure of sales that in certain regions people will not have access to meat? This is a question, (?above all), this is a question.

We have put the problem; is there a strict or (?logistical way) of establishing the methods of supply of meat and its products in the great agglomerations? What are the mechanisms envisioned so as to counter any eventual activity by meat gangs? There is no doubt that these will arise; this is also the world experience. Well, finally, we felt that this is very important matter, that everything should be done for this to be a successful operation, that things do not turn out so that as a result of marketization there ensues an unchecked acceleration of the inflationary spiral.

[Announcer] The speaker devoted much attention to the problem of strengthening the zloty. At the end of his speech Professor Wladyslaw Baka resigned from his post of economic secretary of the party central committee. After a short intermission, there was a discussion.

Reykowski News Conference

LD2907010789 Warsaw PAP in English
2346 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 28—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau member Janusz Reykowski and PUWP CC Press Spokesman Jan Bisztyga met foreign correspondents Friday night.

The PUWP CC's spokesman voiced conviction that the debates of the 13th PUWP CC Plenum would turn out to be a historic event in the party's life. He said a great diversity of views emerged in the discussion. The spokesman thinks this diversity is a uniting variety. Realistic discussion on strategic questions at last started in the party. This is a debate started on the initiative of the CC members and PUWP Sejm deputies. An important role of the Sejm floor group in the party's life gets also confirmed. Members of the PUWP Sejm floor group bring an extremely important contribution to the debate at the 13th PUWP CC plenary session.

The 13th plenum started discussion on preparations for the 11th party congress. Most speakers stressed however that it was not important to organize the congress as swiftly as possible but that this important event in the party's life should be well prepared. The debates also stressed that the party could not give up the line of serving the nation. This means that the party is today a guarantor of the security of the state and the stability of changes in Poland.

The result of the elections dangerously contributed to weakening ties within the coalition, Janusz Reykowski said. This was most clearly shown by the course of the presidential elections. In this situation, it should be a strategic goal to make the party an organization capable to take effective actions and to continue reforms.

Western journalists took interest in possible changes in the party's leadership and asked whether Wojciech Jaruzelski was going to give up the post of first secretary. They wanted to know who would run as candidate for the party leader and many questions concerned also candidates for the post of premier.

Reykowski and Bisztyga said questions of this kind were still premature, stressing also that discussion centered primarily on programmatic and structural questions.

Henryk Jablonski, PUWP CC member, university teacher in Warsaw, public activist, said that the perestroyka in the party is going on in the upper layers of the party but much too little of it can be found in the basis. In consequence, the basis does not understand where it is led by the party and its leadership, it is disorientated. Not against, but not for.

Alicja Kostrzewska, CC member, head of the district internal affairs office in Wrzesnia, Poznan province, asked how the Internal Ministry functionaries can manage to do their tasks when the recent weeks have again seen intensive attacks on them and insinuations instrumentally used in political games. A few incidental cases described by some deputies and senators were compiled into an image of policemen beating up innocent people, suspected of 100 murders, doing only undercover operations, whose only aim is to beat and kill.

Alas, nobody has raised the question of about 20 policemen who got injured under a hail of stones and Molotov cocktails a day before. During this and the past year several hundred policemen were injured in various "peaceful" street demonstrations.

Ireneusz Sekula, vice-premier, informed that during the time of Prime Minister Rakowski's government the Sejm adopted over 70 statutes, that is 50 per cent of all laws made by the 9th Sejm. The law on shares, changes in the state and municipal ownership, taxes, state treasury, could not be pushed into the package which, owing to a mammoth work of the deputies, has been adopted by the Sejm. But drafts are ready for the next Sejm.

A general tax on personal incomes will be introduced as soon as possible, not later that in 1991. The government is also said to have done little, through its activities have unleashed high inflation. We have thoroughly analysed all the options of the CC economic committee. We have voluntary chosen our own, unfortunately, not very good, devaluation version of the central annual plan. It provided for a small price increase, severe limits and ceilings to wages. Life has proved that this variant cannot be executed, that enterprises start choking, lose motivation, production drops and is no longer profitable. So it has turned out that the road leads through a phase of inflation before good business is possible.

Sekula pointed to the social and political atmosphere in which changes in the economic mechanisms were being introduced. Had normal price policy been carried out during the election campaign and had the official prices

been raised alongside a normal restructuring policy and liquidation of a few enterprises, surely no one would have forgiven the government in the light of the election results.

According to the government, the only way is to continue the already initiated processes, to consolidate the model of economic reform, consistently finish what we have begun, and keep improving the elements which are rightly criticised today, for we have not been free of mistakes.

We intend to liquidate energy-wasting enterprises and those whose spending grows too much, especially spending on wages. These will go bankrupt but it needs time.

One thing seems certain: We have attained a critical mass of changes which are irreversible today, injecting a new quality into our country. We have made an economy which better cooperates with the world economy. For this is the pre-condition of settling relations with our creditors.

PZPR Plenum Resumes 29 July

LD2907100889 Warsaw PAP in English
0944 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The 13th plenary meeting of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee [CC] resumed discussion at 10:00 a.m. today.

CC member, head of the Department for Information Policy Slawomir Tabkowski presented conditions and aims of the process of transformations in the Party. He spoke about the need for creating possibilities of quitting the Party ranks for those disappointed by the Party's policy or who do not identify themselves with the direction of changes taking place within the Party for doctrinal reasons.

CC member, individual farmer Jozef Smolarz spoke in favour of an early marketisation of Polish economy but expressed reservations as to the ways of its introduction in practice.

Party Plenum Adopts Resolution

LD2907152289 Warsaw PAP in English
1621 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The 13th plenary meeting of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party/PZPR] Central Committee adopted a resolution reaffirming the correctness of the decisions made by the 10th plenary meeting. The Central Committee said the most important task is to achieve an improvement in economic situation and defined conditions necessary to this end.

In the resolution the Central Committee declared that the party will realize the programme of reforms in cooperation with the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, lay Catholic organizations: Pax, the Christian Social Union and the Polish Catholic Social Union and other legal political parties and groups.

The resolution also declared readiness of the Central Committee to cooperate with all currents of trade union movement, as well as the parliamentary opposition.

The Central Committee decided to undertake preparations for an early convocation of the 11th Congress of the PUWP.

Jaruzelski Submits Resignation

LD2907164189 Warsaw PAP in English
1629 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee today accepted Wojciech Jaruzelski's resignation from the post of PUWP CC [Central Committee] first secretary with one vote against and two abstentions, as the plenary meeting moved to considering organizational matters.

'Excerpts' of Farewell Speech

LD3007213189 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 30—Wojciech Jaruzelski delivered a farewell address at the end of the 2nd part of the 13th plenum of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee], on July 29. Excerpts:

We have passed a long way together. It was and, after all, it is the time when we have often had to choose not greater good but lesser evil. We have learnt much over those years. The main lesson is that one must realistically assess the situation, be sensitive to what people, the worker class, the nation think, how they live, what they expect. And, thus, great goals and everyday human affairs. Yet, one does not make people happy with intentions, programs but with solutions felt in concrete form. As for this, things go badly.

Thus, what should one do? A basic issue, the key to the future is now to reconcile a necessary, essential increase in economic effectiveness with following principles of social justice, those genuine achievements socialism has brought. Our striving, our ambition should be that just the Polish model of socio-economic life bring optimum solutions in this sphere. However, it will not be possible without reaching national agreement in a dimension making it possible to mobilize a part of our society, much bigger than so far, for active support for difficult but indispensable reforms.

That is why I regret that until now we have failed to form a government of grand coalition. Still, I do not lose hope and I will continue efforts to expand the ruling base so as to make it pluralistic and not monopolistic in this form or another.

In this intention I attach particular importance to that that this government [phrase as received] should directly refer to the round table, emphatically confirm the road of agreement, reforms, renewal.

On the other hand, it should be an efficient government and, thus, one respecting and consolidating democratic procedures and at the same time obeying executive, implementing rigours. [sentence as received]

Therefore, one should treat in conjunction democracy, labour and discipline, including the role of the state, its bodies, the government—the way it serves and feels duty in relation to the people whose political and social, material and cultural needs should be ever better satisfied.

One should think about a formula of the future government from the point of view of conditions, circumstances and tasks understood in this way.

We frequently repeat "the same party but not alike." Today this is already too little. It must be same as it has the same ideological roots, but it is already different, as it keeps up with the times, new conditions and the growing scale of needs. (It is a) party able to meet challenges of the turn of the 20th century.

Our error was to negate the achievements of the second republic. Today a just evaluation of this period has cleared the way to social awareness. I am convinced that it will be similar with the postwar 40 years.

The sovereignty of the state is not an abstract notion. Not only a formal recognition by treaty decides about it. Its true dimension depends on how much the country and the nation really count on the political, economic, civilization map of the world. Decisive for true sovereignty is, above all, the capability of the economy of functioning in the world of rivalry and cooperation, external security and the rule of law in everyday life of the country.

Foreign countries look at us from exactly this point of view. To what extent our solutions support the ongoing transformations in socialism, to what extend we are a credible, attractive, efficient ally. To what extent our situation is conducive to improvement and development of East-West relations. Only stable Poland can give a positive answer to this question.

The taking up of the office of the president of the Polish People's Republic and its nationwide essence, symbolism and character of tasks require concentration on the state work, this meaning resignation from the to-date party functions. I thank you for understanding of this necessity.

Leaving this building, I would like to have a feeling that the political base I have originated from will support my service to the nation both today and tomorrow.

Rakowski Elected First Secretary

LD2907164389 Warsaw PAP in English
1635 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee today elected Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to the post of PUWP CC [Central Committee] first secretary in a secret vote.

Rakowski won 171 votes, while 41 votes were cast against him.

Rakowski Hopes for PZPR Support

LD2907201989 Warsaw PAP in English
1916 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—Immediately after his election as PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski granted a short interview to Polish TV.

Asked by the main TV news bulletin reporter how he is going to cope with leadership of the party criticised for the past 40 years having stepped down as prime minister of a government which is criticised from all sides after merely 9 months in power, Rakowski replied that it is not true his government was attacked from all sides and, as regards the party, he hopes for the support of hundreds of thousands of PUWP members who are determined to change "the unfavourable situation into a favourable one."

PAP Profiles Rakowski

LD3007005789 Warsaw PAP in English
2357 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, 63, joined the Polish Workers Party in 1946 and has been PUWP member since 1948. In 1964, he was elected PUWP CC alternate member and has been PUWP CC member since 1975. The 6th PUWP CC plenum elected him Political Bureau member on December 14, 1987 and the 7th PUWP CC plenum elected him PUWP CC secretary on June 16, 1988. He was Sejm deputy in 1972-1989.

After completing a journalistic course, he was an instructor at the PUWP CC department of press and publications. In 1952-1955 studied at the institute of social

sciences and the following year he defended his doctors thesis. In 1955-1957, he worked at the PUWP CC propaganda department. From 1958 to 1981, he was editor-in-chief of the POLITYKA weekly. In 1981, he was appointed vice-premier and in 1985 the Sejm appointed him to the post of deputy speaker that he held till June 17, 1988. He was chairman of the socio-economic council at the Sejm on the 9th term of office.

On September 27, 1988, the Sejm appointed him to the post of premier.

He wrote numerous books on socio-political topics and international relations.

He is married and has two children.

Party Plenum Accepts Resignations

LD2907182289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Mieczyslaw Rakowski was elected to the post of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary in a secret ballot during today's closed session of the 13th Central Committee Plenum. [passage omitted]

The Central Committee accepted in a vote, resignations from:

Kazimierz Barcikowski, from the post of Politburo member;
Stanislaw Ciosek, from the post of Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;
Jozef Czyrek, from the post of Politburo member and Central Committee secretary;
Alfred Miodowicz, from the post of Politburo member;
Wladyslaw Baka, from the post of Central Committee secretary;
Zygmunt Czarzasty, from the post of Central Committee secretary; and
Marian Orzechowski, from the post of Central Committee secretary.

It is worth adding that Wladyslaw Baka and Marian Orzechowski remain members of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Politburo. [passage omitted]

Miodowicz Releases Statement

LD3007005389 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—Explaining reasons for offering his resignation from the post of PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Political Bureau member, Alfred Miodowicz made a statement during Saturday debates of the 13th PUWP CC Plenum, in which he said that this was demanded for a long time by a considerable part of trade unionists.

"The All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions sized up its participation in elections to the Sejm and the Senate that we joined in coalition with the PUWP. Unfortunately, only a small part of our candidates were supported and recognized by local party organizations," the statement said.

"However, I am convinced that the PUWP as a political representation of working people will be effectively cooperating with the class trade union movement," it added.

New Politburo Members Elected

LD2907201789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] In a secret vote, the [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee has elected the following persons to the Central Committee: Marek Krol, Marcin Swiecicki, and Slawomir Wiatr.

Marek Krol, Wlodzimierz Natorf, Marcin Swiecicki, and Slawomir Wiatr were elected Central Committee secretaries.

Manfred Gorywoda, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Leszek Miller were elected members of the Politburo.

Party Plenum Discussion

LD2907224889 Warsaw PAP in English 2102 GMT 29 Jul 89

["13th PUWP CC Plenum: Discussion (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 29

Economic Matters

CC [Central Committee] member Jan Glowczyk: Comrade Sekula made two assertions here yesterday. First, that one should start with creating a favourable market situation and, second, that the divergence of opinions on economic policy does not concern the aims but technology of their implementation. This sounds good. But there is no answer to the question whether the proposed variant of speedup does really offer a chance of quickly reaching the goals.

Judging from the guidelines of the government draft plan for 1989-92, the produced national income, in constant prices, will grow by 5.6 per cent, the money influx—8-times, and the price growth rate—7.8 times. Consumption per head will go up by 2.5 per cent. Is this a speedup?

This is, indeed, the creation of critical mass yet not of reform but a mass whose explosion can cause incalculable consequences for the nation's existence.

Ireneusz Sekula, vice-premier: I uphold my opinion that the difference is in technology. The economy has reached some end of its capabilities under the old structure. Investment outlays going into trillions (of zloties) and billions of dollars are required to change the technology, prevent the energy crisis, unfold production for agricultural purposes, construction materials, and market goods. Are we able to shoulder this burden with our own forces? This is absolutely out of question without settling relations with capitalist countries, especially in two aspects.

First, we must achieve new conditions of debt repayment (several-year grace period), second, obtain fresh credits on normal conditions without extra interest, guaranteed by governments and, above all, obtain means for the development of technology. The first step is to settle the relations with IMF where the precondition is an adjustment programme. The adjustment programme is part of the draft economic programme.

The programme is disliked, it is brutal, it means liquidation of old production in order to establish a new one afterwards. In this connection there must be a certain decline in consumption combined with higher labour productivity.

The programme we have produced cannot be substituted with a programme of dreams. I think people thinking rationally will accept this programme. We are presenting a programme knowing it is hardly attractive. We believe it is the duty of the outgoing government. Of course, the decision belongs to party authorities at different levels, to the parliament.

Private farmer and CC member Jozef Smolarz of the village of Dys, community of Niemce, Province of Lublin: Farmers have no conditions to live and work efficiently. Hence, the question of marketisation is out of discussion. The introduction of market mechanisms will never make sense if only the prices are increased without giving the farmer-producer conditions for better, greater, and more efficient production. Food can be cheaper when farmers get machines, tools, coal, electricity. This is what farmers ask for.

Roman Ney, CC member, professor, scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences Pan: As long as we lack a true labour market, we shall never have labour productivity. The problem associated with marketisation is the structure of prices and wages. The shift to a free market system is a very difficult passage and I doubt this is possible under the evolutionary system.

The Rakowski government had great opportunities provided by the overall criticism and analysis of what had happened before. These opportunities were only partially used during that difficult time.

A number of people were, unfortunately, a wrong choice. They did more harm than good. Some ministers discredited themselves. I had to reply to Swedish charges of swindle done by our Polish ministers. The one I have in mind is Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Jastrzebski.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC member and and head of the department-secretariat of the PUWP CC's Commission for Information Policy Slawomir Tabkowski: Changes in the party clearly lag behind changes in the state and political life of entire society. There is no longer any room for the old model of the party and its methods of action in the socialist parliamentary democracy.

The work aimed to set up a new party of the Polish socialist left, that could really emerge somehow in the second part of the 11th congress, should be done by initiative groups made up of both the present PUWP authorities and actively awakened party milieux and by persons from outside the party. We must finally learn to fight, as the party that does not fight for its followers and against its political enemies must lose.

PUWP CC member and deputy manager at the Ursus Tractor Factory near Warsaw Jerzy Janicki: One of the causes of the party's defeat is that the party lost its political character. We became not a political party, implementing tasks set by working people, but a party helping the ruling team reach its goals. The only systemic guarantor is a strong, united, wise and wisely guided party and we should fight for such a party. We should set up such a party, a party for which questions of working people rather than of the ruling team will be most important.

PUWP CC member and editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU Jerzy Majka: We got accustomed to presenting the party to society through programmes and declarations. If we want to gain support of various social milieux, we need more catchwords and proposals of solutions stemming from social expectations than definition programmes.

Against this background it is necessary to work out proper approach to seeking alliances and allies and we will have to join alliances on concrete questions, also with various opposition circles. It is essential to seek convergent points with them primarily in the economic area.

This does not free us from stressing our identity and differences. If we can find common views on concrete economic solutions with economists from opposition circles, we will differ with them on questions of ownership. Differences will take place and they must not be blurred.

Congress Must Be Organized From Grassroots Level

Edward Sawicki, PUWP CC member, grinder in the transport equipment factory PZL in Mielec: Frustration, apathy among party members are not only the effect of election defeat, these are the consequences of destructive processes within the party, in the national economy, lasting for years and, especially, of the hopeless personnel policy orientated for conservatism in the party and in the state and economic administration.

A considerable portion of party leading circles morally does not meet the requirements. So they should be replaced in a possibly short time. In this connection the party should urgently start an electoral campaign that would be ended by the congress.

The 11th PUWP Congress will define its new political programme, adopt a new statute, and will decide about the name of the party. After the congress the party must be a party of a new type, a modern, leftist party leading in reforms of the socio-political Polish life.

The party is not short of people who are wise, brave, and think modern way, who know how to tear the party off the obsolete dogmas and secure it a right place and role in Poland's political life. The organisation of the congress cannot be handled by people present for years in the party central organs, even if some of them count as the present reformers. The 11th PUWP Congress should be organised by party grass-roots.

13th Plenum Ends Debates

LD3007004689 Warsaw PAP in English 2331 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—The 2nd part of the 13th plenum of the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] ended its two-day debates here late at night. Today's dozen- so-hour-long session was fully devoted to the discussion, adoption of the resolution and organisational changes in the party's leadership. The most important of these changes was the acceptance of Wojciech Jaruzelski's resignation from the function of the PUWP CC 1st secretary and the election of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to that post.

Eleven speakers took the floor during today's discussion.

The remarks, motions and assessments forwarded in the discussion found their expression in the adopted resolution of the 13th Plenum of the PUWP CC. This document confirms the rightness of the decisions taken by the party's 10th plenum and considers achieving improvement of economic situation as the most important task.

In the afternoon the Central Committee held a debate behind closed doors on the organisational, personnel matters. In connection with that a returning committee was set up.

Wojciech Jaruzelski informed the plenum that a part of the members of the party leadership tendered their resignations to the PUWP CC Political Bureau. The Central Committee accepted a motion that each of the resigning members made a statement on the reasons of taking up such a decision. Next, the Plenum heard the statements.

Wojciech Jaruzelski presented to the Central Committee his request to dismiss him from the duties of the 1st secretary of the PUWP CC, Political Bureau and Central Committee member justyfying the move by the fact of his election as Poland's president which has charged him with new important tasks.

On behalf of the Political Bureau, Wojciech Jaruzelski forwarded at the same time the candidature of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to the function of PUWP CC first secretary, recalling his party biography and professional and political career in the PUWP ranks.

The PUWP CC accepted in a ballot the resignation of Wojciech Jaruzelski from the functions he performed in the party leadership, with one vote against and two abstentions.

Next, a secret ballot to elect new PUWP CC first secrtary was held. Out of the 216 present PUWP CC membrs, 212 took part in it. 171 voters came out for the candidature of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and 41 voters were against. His election was applauded.

In a resolution adopted at the plenum, the CC voiced deep satisfaction over the election of Wojciech Jaruzelski as Polish president and stressed that in view of new important duties it deemed it necessary to accept his resignation from the function of PUWP CC first secretary. The resolution says next: The CC wants to thank Comrade Jaruzelski for his long-time and sacrificial work at the post of PUWP CC first secretary, for his work done to the cause of the reforms, creation and defence of democratic state order and national agreement and to strengthening Poland's international position and importance worldwide. The CC assures President Wojciech Jaruzelski that it will give him all-round support in his service.

The plenum's debaters applauded the resolution and rose from their seats.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski assumed chairmanship of the debates, thanking for electing him to such an honourable and .esponsible function.

The Central Committee reviewed further organisational matters. First it adopted the resignation of Kazimierz Barcikowski as CC Political Bureau member (181 votes), Stanislaw Ciosek as Political Bureau Member and CC Secretary (192 votes), Jozef Czyrek as Political Bureau Member and CC secretary (173 votes), Alfred Miodowicz as Political Bureau member (172) votes), Wladyslaw

Baka as CC secretary (114) votes), Zygmunt Czarzasty as CC secretary (188 votes), Marian Orzechowski as CC secretary (168 votes). Wladyslaw Baka and Marian Orzechowski remain members of the PUWP CC Political Bureau.

The Central Committee thanked outgoing members of the leadership.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski put forward proposals of personal reshuffle in the party leadership, drawing attention to the fact that the next CC plenary meeting will offer a possibility to choose OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] representative to the party leadership.

Secret voting made the following persons members of the PUWP CC: Marek Krol (160 votes), Marcin Swiecicki (162), Slawomir Wiatr 142).

New CC Political Bureau members are: Manfred Gorywoda (110), Janusz Kubasiewicz (156), and Leszek Miller (185)

New secretaries of the CC: Marek Krol (144), Wlodzimierz Natorf (192), Marcin Swiecicki (152), and Slawomir Wiatr (118).

The Central Committee secret vote rejected the motion to call off Marian Stepien from the post of CC secretary with 75 votes for, 115 against, and 17 abstentions.

The evening part of the debate was filled with an address by Wojciech Jaruzelski and a closing speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

The CC closed its 13th PUWP CC plenary meeting with the singing of the internationale.

Bisztyga News Conference

LD3007005289 Warsaw PAP in English 2352 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—Spokesman for the PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] Jan Bisztyga tonight held a press conference for Polish and foreign journalists here. In his statement he upheld the thesis put forward on July 28 that the 13th PUWP CC Plenum would be of a historic significance in the party's life.

The discussion during the second day of the plenum's debate was more critical and controversial. Various views on the economic policy, the pace of preparations for the 11th party congress as well as on the scope of changes which should follow the congress, appeared during the discussion. The abundance of topics in the discussion caused the necessity of adjourning their review for the next plenum or for the next congress, Bisztyga said.

The avoidance of squaring up with the past and focusing on the future of Poland and the PUWP were the positive elements of the discussion, the spokesman continued.

As a result of the debates, assessments concerning the consequences of the PUWP CC 10th Plenum's resolutions were expanded. This fact entitled me to state that today's discussion elevated the decisions of the 10th plenum to the rank of the most important impulse to the transformations in the party, he stated.

The problems, currently being most significant to the party, are presented in the resolution of the 13th PUWP CC Plenum which was adopted with eight abstentions. The wordings included in this document point out how radically the party intends to change its concepts of functioning in society adapting itself to the phenomena which emerged after the elections. It also indicates the quick pace which the party wants to give to these reforms, Bisztyga went on.

Bisztyga devoted much time to the personnel issues which had been the 13th Plenum's important topic. With understanding did the Central Committee receive Wojciech Jaruzelski's request to dismiss him from the function of 1st secretary, Political Bureau and Central Committee member. The CC members adopted a resolution in which they expressed their profound satisfaction over Jaruzelski's election as Poland's president and recognised the necessity of his resignation from the post of the CC 1st secretary. The Central Committee thanked Wojciech Jaruzelski for his many-year and committed activity as the 1st secretary.

Next, Bisztyga answered numerous questions. Like the day before, they focused mainly on personnel matters. Yet, the spokesman could not fully satisfy newsmen's curiousity as the conference was held at the time when the plenum was still working and the results of the elections of the party leadership were not known.

Jaruzelski Receives Cardinal Glemp 28 Jul

LD2807214389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] This evening at the Belweder Palace there was a meeting between the president of the Polish People's Republic, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the Chairman of the Conference of the Episcopate of the Roman Catholic Church, the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. In the course of a longer talk the main problems of particular attention and concern to the church authorities and all citizens of our country were discussed. The necessity of their effective resolution through the concordant effort of Poles in the spirit of dialogue and national accord was indicated.

Jozef Glemp congratulated Wojciech Jaruzelski and gave him best wishes on the occasion of his election to post of president of the republic [Prezydent Rzeczypospolitej, historical terms, avoiding mention of People's Poland].

The renewal of diplomatic relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Holy See was highly rated. The agreed conviction was expressed that they will well serve the development of bilateral relations and relations between church and state in the interests of our fatherland. President Wojciech Jaruzelski informed the primate about the situation and activities associated with the appointment of a new government.

Council of Ministers Meets on Food Issues

LD3007122589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Late last night the Council of Ministers met. The subject of the proceedings concerned the development of agricultural production, its profitability and improvement in supply to the food market.

Important decisions were made. From 1 August, market mechanisms will be introduced into the food economy, hitherto hampered by rationing, official prices, and monopolies. From that date, there will be no restrictions in the purchasing of agricultural produce, in processing, and in food trading.

(?we will be buying) meat without ration cards. Prices will be set not by the ministry but by the market. Unfortunately, this means that things wil be more expensive, because up to now official prices have been artificially frozen at the expense of the budget. An appropriate system for leveling out [wyrownywania] the costs of maintaining families has been prepared. This is not, as was emphasized during the meeting, a successive prices and incomes policy. It is not a question of summary solutions but of introducing market mechanisms into the most important sphere of citizens' daily lives. There is no other method of (?ensuring) the profitability of agricultural production in the countryside and the elimination of lines.

Council Adopts Decisions

LD3007125589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] We are unable to present the communique on the introduction of market mechanisms into the food market in full in our program because of its large content. But we will highlight some of the points of the communique, which will be published in the press tomorrow.

In connection with the introduction of market principles into the food economy, the Council of Ministers made numerous decisions, i.a., it abrogated the law on controls on goods turnover of certain raw materials and food products. This signifies the abrogation of all administrative restrictions in the purchase and turnover of agricultural products. Now, all economic subjects from all sectors will be able to conduct purchasing. The government also abrogated the law on the rationed sale of goods. By this, meat and its products will be sold without ration cards from 1 August. Administrative methods of setting prices will also be eliminated. Official prices, which are identical throughout the country, will be maintained solely on milk with a 2 percent fat content, curd and low-fat cheeses, baby formula, and plain bread.

Monetary supplements to wages, annuities and pensions, family benefits, and other monetary benefits are being introduced, aimed at leveling out increased expenditure for the purchase of basic food items. The supplements consist of two parts: the first, 4,857 zloties per month, is to level out the anticipated increase in expenditure for those basic food items apart from meat and its products, who prices will be shaped by the market; however, the second part of the supplement is to level out the increase in the cost of meat and its products. This part will be differentiated, depending upon the coupon allocation on 1 August. For every kilogram on hitherto coupons, a qualifying person will receive 1,425 zloties per month. Apart from this, the total level of monthly supplements, rounded off to the nearest 100 zloties, is as follows: persons receiving the M1 coupon, 8,500 zloties; children receiving the M0 coupon, also 8,500 zloties; persons with the M2 coupon, 10,600 zloties; with the G1 coupon, all 11,300 zloties; and with the G coupon, 14,900 zloties. The increase in the prices of remaining articles where official prices are in force, for example tea, coffee, and confectionary, will be calculated as a result of indexation, valorization, and the adaption of wages in the budgetary sphere to wages in the material sphere.

The current supplements should, therefore, to be treated as advance payments. Supplements to remunerations due as a result of the increase in the prices of basic food items should be paid to workers at the beginning of the month, apart from which the first payment, for August, should not take place later than 5 August, unless a different time limit is established within the work enterprises.

Farmers Protest Supply Problems, Price Hikes

LD2907212989 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Ciechanow, July 29—Staging a protest, a group of some 300 private farmers-members of the voivodship union of farmers' circles and organisations marched in silence through the main streets here. The participants in the march handed a resolution to the Ciechanow Voivode in which they point to the aggravating difficulties in the sphere of supply of agriculture with the means of production and to the disparity of incomes caused by dramatic price hikes of tractors, agro-machines, spare parts and fuel.

It is ridiculous that there is a shortage of cord to presses and sheafers at the outset of harvest and the humiliating waiting at the machine stores for any kind of agricultural equipment causes bitterness, the resolution reads.

The resolution supports the stand by the National Union of Farmers' Circles and Organisations [word indistinct] concerning the introduction of market mechanisms into

food economy and states that prolongation of the current situation makes the prospect for reconstruction of animal production more and more distant, and with an imbalanced market, it threatens with a deep decrease of crops procurement.

Also in the region of Puck (Gdansk Voivodship), nearly an eight-hour-long protest action was staged by over fifty private farmers, who, using tractors and other machines, blocked two crossroads in the vicinity of the town and demanded marketisation of food economy as of August 1. The protesters called for a full supply of means of agricultural production, particularly of the cord to sheafers.

Walesa Says Current Policy 'Safest'

LD3007175389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] A rally has taken place on the square of the Church of Saint Bridget in Gdansk, in the course of which Lech Walesa discussed matters associated with the current situation in the country and also the activity of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity. The leader of Solidarity refused to comment on the personnel decisions of the the Polish United Worker's Party Central Committee's 12th plenum, stating: We will not meddle in the party. He stressed that he regards proreform activities as purposeful, so that possibilities arise for the activity of various parties. He stated that the program of political reforms currently being implemented is the transformation option that is safest for the state and nation.

Preparations Made for Solidarity Meeting

LD2807220989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] A meeting of the National Executive Commission [KKW] Presidium of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity took place in Gdansk. Preparations for the KKW meeting tomorrow were discussed. The agenda envisages intra-union matters, the socio-economic problems of the country, indexation, the marketization of food, and also the key issues regarding the activity of every trade union, that is collective work agreements and the defense of labor. The presidium inter alia discussed the urgent necessity to work out a law relating to collective agreements and decided to request the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group to undertake work in this regard. The questions raised by Solidarity members in work places about the union's undertaking economic activity were also discussed. The lively, long discussion, full of controversy, also related to the marketization of food and the indexation of wages. The final decision on the matter of the stance of NSZZ Solidarity on these matters and also those relating to the remaining points on the agenda of the presidium will be undertaken by the KKW.

Solidarity Paper Interviews CSSR's Dubcek

LD2807160889 Warsaw PAP in English 1428 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 28—In an interview for GAZETA WYBORCZA Aleksander Dubcek said:

"We rejoice at the developments we are observing in Poland, though at the same time I have to say that we are sorry about the wasted time. The monument to the fallen shipyard workers did not have to be erected. The fact is that already 20 years ago voices were raised in society and in the party which called for changes and democracy. However, the authorities thought that by the use of fists, whips, and guns it is possible to keep the nation in a blind obedience.

"This is a tragedy. At present new roads are being sought after in Poland, Hungary and in other countries. This is a difficult task for Solidarity, for the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], for the government, for the parliament and for society at large.

"It is necessary to create a programme of economic reforms and to implement it quickly. Building is what Poland needs now so that people can see that new life is coming into being, that new Poland is being created, to make them believe again that life will be easier. This (task) is more responsible than criticism alone.

"One has to assume responsibility to open up prospects for the aspirations of Solidarity. I wish you success. One must seek the way out of the current situation, together with the PUWP, for there are also people in the party who understand the necessity of reforms. Irrespective of whether they are in minority, they should be listened to. This is what I wish the Polish parliament, Solidarity, the PUWP and first of all the Polish people. And I believe you will succeed," Dubcek said.

Military Delegation To Visit United States

AU2807143489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 89 p 6

[PAP report of statement made by General of Arms Antoni Jasinski: "The Upcoming Visit of the Polish Military Delegation to the U.S."]

[Text] Sometime at the end of July and the beginning of August a Polish military delegation will visit the United States at the invitation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. Armed Forces. This delegation will be led by General of Arms Antoni Jasinski, the deputy minister of national defense. General Jasinski was asked to give his assessment of Polish-American military contacts.

[Jasinski] We accepted the invitation to visit the United States with great pleasure. The visit of a Polish military delegation to the United States is not in itself astounding. The visit is a consequence of the favorable development of contacts between NATO and the Warsaw Pact

and the military contacts between Poland and America. Military contacts between the armed forces of various states, and between those belonging to different military groupings and countries who have differing sociopolitical systems, play an important part in shaping international relations. Such visits are an important factor in spreading confidence and strengthening mutual security.

On several occasions now, we have had U.S. Armed Forces officers visit Poland. They came to observe Polish Army units on training exercises and to carry out on-site inspections, pursuant to the CSCE Stockholm decisions.

Last year, senators of the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Commission visited Poland and met with officers of the Polish Army General Staff. We also received visits from the special advisor to the U.S. President, the secretary of state for the control of armaments, and a group of students from the National Defense University.

This year the Polish military attache to the United States and his American counterpart in Poland gave a series of lectures in the higher military academies of the two respective countries.

We are thus going to the United States convinced that our visit will consolidate mutual confidence and foster further Polish-American cooperation and not only in the military sphere. We hope that the upcoming visit will be useful and pleasant, and that we shall learn many new things. The program of our visit seems to indicate that it will be.

I would like to recall that in both Polish and American societies the traditions of the respective nations' joint struggle for freedom are still vivid. The names of Kosciuszko and Pulaski, the common heroes of the two nations are well known to both Poles and Americans. There are still many war veterans who fought together during World War II "for your and our freedom."

I want to stress that our upcoming visit to the United States is taking place in the year which sees the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, in which Poland and the United States were active members in the anti-Hitler coalition. This fact assumes particular significance. There are thus many things which unite us from the historical standpoint, as well as in the present.

Ceausescu Greets PZPR's Rakowski on Election
AU3007180489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1537 GMT 30 Jul 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/7/1989—Romanian Communist Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu sent a congratulatory telegram to Mieczyslaw Rakowski on his election first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR].

I take this opportunity to express the conviction that by our working together the relations of fraternal friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party, between Romania and Poland will grow in future, too, in the interest of the Romanian and the Polish people, of the cause of socialism and peace.

Dear Comrade Rakowski, I wish you lots of good health and full success in the highly responsible activity in the service of building socialism in Poland for the benefit and happiness of the friendly Polish people, reads the telegram.

Western 'Antisocialist' Policies Condemned
AU2907174389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1400 GMT 29 Jul 89

["For the Real Democratization of Interstate Relations"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 29/7/1989—The improvement of international cooperation by a real democratization of interstate relations appears as the unique modality of mutually advantageous relations, free of the servitutes, of domination, exploitation and inequity. A mutually advantageous cooperation of all peoples can be successfully achieved only among partners equal in rights, among independent and sovereign states, in conditions of a complete reorganization of international relations upon the basis of mutual advantage, through the establishment of a new international economic and political order.

Romania's participation in the international life, in world economic exchanges, in building peace in the outcome of a unitary, coherent policy aimed at ensuring the Romanian people external conditions favouring the efforts of building socialism and, first of all, the full manifestation, unhampered by any outside conditioning, of the higher attributes of elaborating and translating into life its own development programmes so as to benefit, to a larger extent, by the advantages of manifold, mutually advantageous international cooperation.

Romania's experience, just as that of the majority of world states, confirms the truth that in the absence of political independence, of peace and broad cooperation with other states, the process of revolutionary renewal cannot be implemented, just as one cannot speak of genuine political independence in the absence of a solid socio-economic development.

The new principles of interstate relations set the framework providing conditions for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new fair economic order, favouring all nations' efforts to close the large economic and technological gap among states.

The Romanian political thinking gives a new perspective to the international approach to human rights problems in a realistic way exempt from the simplifications and the exclusivist capitalist vision, based on the strict observance of the principles which should govern international relations, equal, mutually advantageous interstate cooperation. Considering the complex issues in today's world, the economic, political and societal crisis, the humanitarian principles of providing ever better working and living conditions for all in each country, appropriate measures must be adopted by all countries. It is only the independent and sovereign development of each country, free from any outside interference, in conditions of mutually advantageous collaboration, that can help the international community achieve genuine human rights to existence, dignified life, free of exploitation, which depends basically on each country's economic development level.

The differences of social system should not be an obstacle in the way of mutual collaboration and interstate understanding. It is an essential principle of the international political life, which has acquired a greater importance given the intensification, lately, of attempts at interference in socialist countries' home affairs, with the obvious aim to destabilize the situation in these countries, to envenom the political climate in Europe and the world over.

The thesis of the so-called "European reconciliation" is used as a pretext for the recrudescence of the antisocialist and anticommunist policies, pursued by some Western political circles, which openly resort to inadmissible practices of interference in other states' affairs.

Such utterly condemnable actions flagrantly run counter the elementary principles and norms of interstate links, run counter the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Alongside other socialist countries, Romania, as stressed in the Bucharest declaration released at the close of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, firmly rejects these infringements, any other manifestations and forms of sowing hatred among peoples, of direct or indirect interference in states' internal affairs.

The principles of international relations are, in the Romanian vision, a great transforming force of the world, of the people working in concert, of all factors in the renewing progressive front, capable to orient world

developments toward the elimination of the specter of nuclear destruction and war, to sanction international peace and collaboration as foremost values of interstate relationship.

Daily Examines Results of Paris Summit
AU3007161189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jul 89 p 6

[Editorial: "Anachronistic Practices at Variance With the Spirit of Genuine and Constructive International Cooperation—in Connection With the Meeting of 'the Seven Rich Countries' in Paris"]

[Text] A meeting was held recently in Paris by "the seven rich countries" (the most developed capitalist states—England, Italy, Canada, USA, France, FRG, and Japan). For almost 15 years now, these countries have arbitrarily assumed the role of deciding and establishing trends for the socioeconomic and even military development of the world. These trends actually mean to work toward enhancing the role of monopolies and of financial capital, and of preserving the old policy of inequality and oppression, of force and dictate, and of robbing the riches of other peoples. As a matter of fact, as numerous countries in the world assessed, the representatives of these countries at the meeting did nothing more than represent their very selves, and not even the aspirations and interests of their own people, who view this policy as very serious and dangerous for the peace and progress of humanity, and for the atmosphere of trust and international cooperation.

From the perspective of the results achieved at the meeting, of the way of broaching the subjects on the agenda of "the seven rich countries," and in view of the various declarations adopted by them, it is clear—as numerous observers have noted—that very serious problems in the international arena have actually been ignored or minimized deliberately, while other problems were approached from the most convenient angle for the great capital "the seven" represented. In the declarations adopted at the Paris meeting, "the seven rich countries" were unable to conceal—and there was no way to do so—the policy of domination and indifference toward the dramatic situation confronting numerous countries in the world, situations generated by the serious inequalities systematically perpetuated in the international arena in the interests of the great capital, which, among other things, led to the suffocating crisis of the foreign debts of numerous Third World countries.

Not even a "countermeeting" held at the same time by representatives of the seven poorest countries on the globe (Bangladesh, Brazil, Burkina Faso, the Philippines, Haiti, Mozambique, and Zaire), which vehemently contested the assumption by the "club of the rich" of the right to "speak on behalf of the whole world and to make decisions for the whole of humanity," was able to perturb the participants in the Paris meeting. This, because—as a commentator emphasized—"the top of the capitalist pyramid is governed by different laws—the right of the most powerful, the right of the richest. And this is exactly from where the forum of the richest countries starts its policy toward the poor countries."

It is not difficult to note that the Paris meeting of the seven rich countries did not provide solutions for any of the serious problems confronting the world economy and not even for the sharp economic contradiction between Western countries, contradictions with strong negative effects on the whole world economy. However, to be honest, a "solution" was offered nevertheless: the solution of preserving the status quo and even its aggravation. The meeting of "the seven" has once again confirmed the lack of desire and will of the rich states to seek and reach viable solutions to the foreign debt problem of the developing countries. "The whole performance in Paris has shattered an illusion"—Wolfgang Roth, vice president of the social-democratic faction in the West German Bundestag, admitted immediately after the meeting, stressing—fully justified and fully aware of the situation—that the participants in the meeting in question did not provide any solution to the foreign debt problem of the developing countries.

The hope that the capitalist states would be inclined—as the Western press reported extensively on the eve of the meeting—to agree to organizing an international conference in the not too distant future, which would discuss not only the foreign debt problem of the Third World (which is in excess of $1,300 billion) but also problems of the world trade, which is being undermined more and more by the proliferation of protectionism, or problems of the monetary-financial system and so forth also proved to be an empty dream. The fact that the final declaration of the meeting did not even mention such a conference is also one the deliberate omissions in "summing up" the meeting.

There is nothing new in this attitude. For years now "the seven rich countries" meet and orchestrate their positions always in the interest of preserving the current inequitable structures in the world economy, structures that only serve an ever smaller rich minority—even in the developed countries—which these meetings represent. No matter where these meetings took place, the outcome has always been the same throughout the years. The hope that things may change—hopes nurtured by some demagogic declarations which preceded the Paris meeting—once again proved unfounded. This time the poor, those who are at a disadvantage because of the current international political and economic order, were again offered just "ascertainments," "suggestions," and "recommendations."

As is known, there is nothing new about the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt. It has been at the center of world attention for a long time, but instead of being accorded its due importance or considered in light of its topicality and unpredictable consequences, it was "only dallied with by the world financiers," as a Western

newspaper wrote, "who merely applied some cosmetic remedies." In order to prove their "largess," they sent experts to "teach the hungry to eat less." The serious result of such an approach—or better said, nonapproach—is there for everybody to see: Last year, the debtors paid into the coffers of the rich 43 billion dollars more than they received. What does it matter that billions of people in the underdeveloped countries are living in the direst poverty, as a result of the disastrous effects of the foreign debt, which are also aggravated by other predatory practices, such as the policy in the sphere of prices, international trade, and so forth. In short, we are faced with the same old approach, and no solutions.

The most characteristic feature of this meeting was, without doubt, the unity shown by "the seven"—regardless of the nature of the problems tackled—in defending their own interests and promoting their policy of domination, not only in the economic sphere but also in the political one. This is true even though at the beginning this group has set for itself only economic goals; however, with the passage of time, from one meeting to another, the political aspect has grown in its importance, and now, one can say that it has already acquired the upper hand. If, in the economic sphere, the concerted action of "the seven"—aimed at taking the necessary steps to facilitate the activities of the great capital—substantially enhances the dictate opportunities of the big monopolies and multinational companies, in the political sphere, it strives, which is even worse, to impose certain trends which can consolidate their positions of domination and dictate in the international life. In certain instances, their adopted stands—as in the case of the statement on East-West relations—are clear proof of interference in the domestic affairs of other states, of political pressure and conditioning. Claiming to be the judges of the situation on our planet, "the seven" consider themselves justified to qualify the situation in any given country. Thus, by demagogically using such great words as "liberty, democracy, and human rights"—while totally ignoring the absence, limits, or violations of these rights even in the countries they are representing—"the seven" do not hesitate to make all kinds of assessments on realities prevailing in certain socialist countries from Europe and other continents. Assuming the prerogatives of arbiters of the international life—as attested by the adopted documents—they pass judgments, launch appeals, and make offers with the aim of destabilizing and perturbing the political climate in certain socialist countries. Declaring themselves in favor of dialogue and cooperation, they do not refrain from conditioning their readiness to engage in such a dialogue and cooperation on eventual changes in the economic and political structure of certain countries. In the light of the latest developments and events, it is quite clear that certain Western leaders are not interested in supporting various socialist countries for the sake of socialism, but rather in stimulating the adoption of ways and means to, as LE MONDE writes, to actively support the transition to "the capitalist ideal." The price for that? The return to the market economy, "to the likely benefit of the great Western companies," and the return to the old capitalist structures.

In connection with the problems of disarmament and detente, the statements adopted by the Paris meeting—ignoring the constructive nature of the disarmament and peaceful coexistence proposals advanced by the socialist countries—continue to bring up the issue of "a lack of military balance" and of "a real threat to each of 'the seven'" and, in the name of "vigilance and the maintenance of the strength of these countries," reiterate the need to "preserve a deterrent strategy based on the appropriate blending of efficient and adequate nuclear and conventional forces." This language is clearly reminiscent of a time which we thought was gone forever, namely the cold war.

Claiming for themselves certain rights that nobody granted them, the participants in these meetings did not stop at inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of other states, as proven by the statement on China. Continuing to ignore the PRC realities, the seven industrial countries passed judgments on problems in that country, guiding themselves after their so-called "values." Daily RENMIN RIBAO writes: "The statement on events in China contains inadmissible accusations in connection with the checking of the counterrevolutionary rebellion in China. The statement condemns the government action as a brutal intervention that has violated human rights. These unfounded accusations, which amount to gross interference in China's domestic affairs, are inadmissible to the Chinese Government and people."

It is clear that at their Paris meeting, "the seven" gave the interpretations to contemporary realities that suited their own interests, thus making no contribution to really resolving the great problems facing the peoples of the world, problems that require realistic and efficient solutions. On the contrary, they tried to impose their own viewpoints, as the only valid ones, not to facilitate the resolution of problems facing today's mankind, but rather to increase the prosperity of the rich, who are becoming even richer, to the detriment of the poor, who are becoming even poorer and more numerous.

As noted by many observers, the positions adopted at the Paris meeting will further deepen difficulties and contradictions in the world economy, perpetuate underdevelopment and gaps among states, and aggravate the foreign debt crisis. This will happen with the direct contribution of certain rich countries, which claim to be concerned and worried, in the name of humanism, over the observation of human rights. The situation is paradoxical: those who condemn, through their adopted stands, millions and millions of people to poverty and underdevelopment are those who make use—too free a use—of words they themselves do not respect, such as "freedom," "dignity," and "human rights, while easily overlooking problems they have not been able to solve, for years on end, in their own countries. Ironically, almost at the same time with the proceedings of the respective Paris meeting, the Economic and Social Committee of the Common Market released a report which

pointed out that there are 6 to 10 million human beings living in "great poverty" in the member countries (some of which were represented at the meeting of "the seven"). Other documents from across the ocean show that the number of Americans living in poverty has reached the figure of 32.5 million and specify that the poverty rate among the young people is growing twice as fast as the general rate; not to mention the millions of homeless people and the process of social outcasting that randomly encompasses millions of young and old in these countries.

As noted by an observer in the French capital city, the agenda of the Paris meeting appeared to be all-encompassing and diverse, but the participants sang to the same tune, trying to present the meeting as a show of harmony in order to confirm expectations regarding its successful conclusion. Daily LE FIGARO wrote: "If the participants in the Paris summit had to talk about themselves, all they could come up with was praise for each other; as for the rest of the world, the economic situation is far from being bright and in certain cases, like Latin America, it is even disastrous. Many poor countries have reached their limit and cannot cope any more—inflation has reached astronomical proportions and their debt to the rich countries is growing on a daily basis. Such a powder keg can explode at any time." However, as it became apparent at the end of the meeting, these worrying realities left "the seven" quite unruffled. This, because the aim of the meeting, as shown by its proceedings and documents, was not to resolve problems, but rather to throw dust into the eyes of the gullible while continuing to invent increasingly more complicated systems to consolidate the power of the great monopolies and of the capitalist financial system and to force unbearable conditions and inequitable relations upon the poor countries, based on inequality and oppression. The participants in the Paris meeting have demonstrated once more that they are only interested in increasing the incomes of the rich, at the expense of the great majority of the world's states, including their own peoples.

Far from making a contribution to solving topical problems in the interest of the world's nations, the 15th meeting of "the seven" ended with declarations which basically ignore or obscure these problems. The meeting adopted positions which pave the way to interference in the domestic affairs of other states; such positions cannot possibly satisfy the desire and expectations of mankind to live and develop in a climate of mutual trust and respect and of equal and constructive cooperation, which is needed so much in today's world.

It is high time to look for alternatives to the orientations advocated by the meeting of "the seven." The serious and complicated problems of the international life should not be resolved by the great monopolies and their representatives, but rather with the equal contribution and participation of all nations and countries.

Consistently adhering to its principled position, Romania has advocated and continues to speak out for convening an international conference—with the fully equal participation of both the developing countries, which represent the great majority of the world, and the developed countries—which should create a permanent forum meant to take steps to establish relations of full equality in the relations among states, to eliminate underdevelopment, and to establish a new world economic order, which can facilitate the faster progress of all nations, primarily those lagging behind, and ensure the stability of the world economy and a broad and mutually advantageous cooperation among all nations in the world.

LCY Central Committee Plenum Session Begins

Radio Comments on Plenum

AU2907170089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Djordje Vlajic]

[Text] Good afternoon, dear listeners: It is Saturday, a day of rest and sports. However, this Saturday differs in some way from other Saturdays. One may say that it is distinguished by certain expectations, considering the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to be held tomorrow.

It was announced a long time ago that the 25th LCY Central Committee session will discuss the development of interethnic relations as its main point. The past few days, during which a number of grave nationalist incidents have occurred, have to some extent increased the expectations from the results of the discussion.

This is no longer an exaggerated assessment: The interethnic relations in Yugoslavia are at their lowest point in the postwar development of Yugoslavia. The political combinations of the leaderships, most of whom are quarreling with each other, have played the card of national feelings in this crisis time, probably calculating that it is a strong trump.

The political situation does provide much reason for great expectations from the 25th session, above all and primarily by the great majority of the people of Yugoslavia who do not favor nationalism and who find it more and more difficult to tolerate a resurgence of what caused much evil (?to our peoples) not so long ago.

The question is, however, whether the highest party organ will muster the force to impose, with its stands, the obligation on party leadership to do what is one of the basic premises of the LCY Program: to develop and advance interethnic relations.

A reason for doubts may be provided by the draft document submitted to a public discussion before the session. The draft is too general and written in an almost (?incomprehensible) language, searching for the obligatory balance in political relations among the parts of the League of Communists. It does not contain a sufficiently clear stand, and even less any tasks in this (?undoubtedly) vital field.

It may be that this time something may happen that did not happen at several preceding sessions of the highest LCY political organ that were heralded as crucial. It remains to be seen.

'Not Much Hope' for Plenum

AU2907192389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Mirjana Trajkovic commentary]

[Text] All that has preceded the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to be held tomorrow—political conflicts, unprecedented propaganda war containing elements of nationalist hysteria, crudest nationalist incidents involving even children as victims, which however have not been reacted upon in some leaderships—does not provide much hope that this time the LCY Central Committee will muster enough strength to stop the rushing nationalism in its tracks and to open the process of advancing interethnic relations in Yugoslavia.

We see from the proposed stances which the Central Committee should adopt at the end of the 2-day session that our fears are well grounded. The republican and provincial party leaderships have already split on the assessment of this document. While the Leagues of Communists of Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo assess that the document is unusable for action, and that it in fact further disunites instead of uniting, the Leagues of Communists of Slovenia and Croatia believe that it is a good basis for discussion. The proposed stances are replete with general (?ideas) and assessments that say nothing, and they reduce the complex problems of interethnic relations chiefly to nationalism.

The proposed document fails to provide an answer to the essential question: Is nationalism a category of the system, or rather, is nationalism an inevitable consequence of the constitutional and systemic provisions of 1974, when Yugoslavia was split up into several national states? It is symptomatic that the stances do not even mention the 1974 Constitution. The conflict of bureaucratic statism and self-management is again cited as the cause of the interethnic problems, and of course the protagonists are again not identified.

Some drafters of the document support national affirmation. One gains the impression that in some cases, most frequently when the efforts of Serbia to win an equal position in the federation are mentioned, national affirmation is equated with nationalism without any arguments being offered. National homogenization is rejected a priori, without entering into its nature and motives. The level of unity achieved in some parts of the country, especially in Serbia, seems to be pejoratively interpreted as homogenization.

This time again separatism and unitarianism are equated as being dangerous for the future of Yugoslavia. This is done although it is quite certain that separatism has been openly active—for instance in Kosovo and Slovenia—but that unitarianism has no chance under the present

conditions, unless those who fear alleged unitarianism understand it to mean strivings for strong, unified federation. Such strivings of course exist, and not in Serbia alone.

These are only some of the questions which, we believe, will attract most attention and discussion at the Central Committee session. Polemics are unavoidable, because the views are diametrically opposed. One expects direct confrontations, but we should nevertheless all hope that there will be enough sense tomorrow and the day after tomorrow so that the matters are thoroughly clarified, and there will be enough tolerance and not strongheaded persistence on one's own stands and rejection of concessions. This will be necessary if we really want to continue to live in Yugoslavia.

Plenum Opens Late

AU3007151289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 30 Jul 89

[From the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] Good morning: Obviously nothing is like it used to be, not even Sundays. A session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] is held in Belgrade on interethnic relations. Some people say this is the right time for this topic, and others think that it is late. Kosta Krajincanic reports from the spot, the Sava Center. Good morning, Kosta.

[Krajincanic] Good morning. It started some 40 minutes ago. The session started after a delay of 17 minutes. I have unofficially learned that the Central Committee Presidium met before the session. The subject is extremely sensitive, and it may be supposed that the preparations and negotiations continued until the very beginning of the session, which is chaired by Milan Pancevski. In addition to Pancevski, the members of the working presidium are Stefan Korosec, Ivica Racan, Milica Stanivukovic, and Petar Simic.

Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium is now submitting his opening report on the main subject of the plenum, interethnic relations.

Interethnic Relations Discussed

LD3007100489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0746 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia's [LCY] activities in the development of interethnic relations based on socialist self-managing is the main topic of the 25th LCY Central Committee session, which began in the Belgrade Sava Center today.

Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will present an introductory address on these issues at the top party forum's plenum which is, according to the announcements, to last 2 days. At this session, the Central Committee should also adopt the proposal on the number of the members of the LCY organs who will be elected at the forthcoming 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY.

At today's session, the top party forum should take its stand on the initiative of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee that Adem Krasnici should be relieved of his membership of the LCY Central Committee. The resignations to membership in Presidium and the Central Committee of Vasil Tupurkovski and Perko Vukotic, and the resignation of LCY Central Committee member Zdravko Grebo, submitted at the last plenum, will also be considered.

Racan Addresses Plenum

LD3007131789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—Divisions and disputes among nationalities are penetrating into the League of Communists [LC] and are taking a grip first on its leadership and then on its organizations and members. At the same time, the practice of parts of the LC and the other socialist forces of dissociating themselves from nationalist activities is declining. Clashes between the republican and provincial leaderships are on the rise and are exceeding the limits of understandable, legitimate, and creatively beneficial differences in opinions.

This is how Ivica Racan, member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee [LCY] Presidium, assessed the state of our intranational relations at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

The examination of this issue is an integral part of the preparations for the LCY congress, Racan stressed because it is necessary to stop the increasing political clashes in the country for the sake of the success of the congress and positive changes in the country.

The deterioration in intranational relations, the expansion of national divisions and nationalism and in nationalist attitudes are generating various effects. On the one hand, the concern and fear over intranational confrontations and their potentially tragic consequences is on the rise; and on the other hand, the false hopes and delusions, particularly by those passionate about nation, that this is a way of overcoming the existing problems and even the way out of the social crisis, are also gaining strength.

One of the essential aims in the preparations for this plenum was "to contribute to an end to confrontations and propaganda which have an intranational character or seriously influence the state of intranational relations, and especially to those which take place within the LC or spring from a blatantly implied approval of them by some LC leaderships." We have also stressed that that this is one of the essential preconditions for concentrating all the social forces and energies on the most essential issue: the complex and difficult tasks of social reform.

Obviously, we have not succeeded in this aim and demand, because the trend toward deterioration in intranational relations has not been stopped, but rather the contrary is so. At this session, we need a sober and reasoned discussion rather than an unprincipled confrontation without self-criticism. We need a minimum of agreement on the reasons and factors which condition the unfavorable situation in order to know what to do and to be efficient in carrying it out.

We must be able to comprehend that the deterioration in intranational relations is primarily a sign of the crisis of the etatist model of socialism, which has not yet been overcome. Etatist socialism is not able to find a solution to the basic social contradictions and development problems. It used to achieve certain results—something that cannot be ignored or wiped out—but it no longer produces these results, and hence, it cannot be a fertile basis for arranging intranational relations. Apart from the crisis of this concept and its associated practices, this is also a matter of the ineffectiveness and inability of the LC and the other socialist forces to overcome the crisis. This etatist concept and practice was, and still is, characterized by etatist relations and their decentralisation—i.e. the economy of consensus—the LC's monopolistic status and the exaggarated role of the political element, going so far as a stage of political arbitrariness. Two problems which accelerated and deepened the social crisis have been particularly neglected: economic efficiency and democracy.

The current situation in intraethnic and intrarepublican relations was first generated by a social crisis which progressively worsened. However, we must remember that the effects of such a situation severely diminish the possibility of carrying out the intended social reform. Once national problems have arisen—regardless of what caused them—they acquire their own logic, which is often irrational, bringing about consequences which can outlive the causes. It is not enough to merely remove the causes of all those things and those people who provoked them.

The deterioration in intraethnic relations is firmly rooted in etatism and bureaucratism. Bureaucratic etatism in a multinational society not only relys on nationalism, the separatist or unitarist variety, but it also can only survive by being supported by these aspects of nationalism.

Earlier it was emerging on "behalf of the class" but today it is "on behalf of the nation."

Nationalism in our community gains its importance, he said, in that it serves to preserve new monopolies of bureacratic power or to establish new ones. Nationalist "sympathies" toward one's own people are aimed at subduing any other kind of solidarity—class solidarity among workers and solidarity as members of the human race. Attempts are made to gather obedient instruments who will submissively respond to these calls and these nationalist leaders. At the same time, these pawns are urged to be chauvinistically aggressive toward other ethnic groups—all under the banners and slogans of nationalism.

We must stop viewing these nationalist issues as an exclusively administrative, political, and state issue. Man's identity as a member of civilized society implies awareness of one's own national values and their promotion, but not at the expense of others nor against them. The attitude and love for one's own nation must not be burdened by fanaticism and single-mindedness, because these turn humanism into the worship of one's nation and nationalism with a single item on the agenda: Others must be blamed.

There are various reasons for the deterioration in intraethnic relations, from the domination of the economy by the state to the nonexistence of the market and a market economy, the uneven distribution of economic development and economic inequality, bad and inadequate solutions in the political system, the worsening of certain problems and the absence of solutions to them in Yugoslavia and certain republics, the situation in Kosovo and the attitudes toward it, etc.

The deterioration in intraethnic relations is strongly fueled by increasing tensions over certain national issues and so-called solutions to them which ignore or negate the Yugoslav federation which is a community of equal nations and nationalities. Introducing an individual national issue irrespective of the total spectrum of intraethnic relations is not only a demand for new solutions in the political integration of, for example, the Serb and the Croat nations within Yugoslavia as a whole, but also—if the consequences themselves are something to judge by—a demand for restructuring and retailoring the SFRY, Racan assessed.

If some people want to fully achieve their interests within one community, regardless of the others and at their expense, this is possible; in that case, however, there would be no equality and freedom in this community.

It is precisely the LC's principled attitude—that every kind of nationalism is dangerous—that is subject to increasingly different "interpretations" and negations in its implementation in practice.

This is what is obstructing the LC in achieving its goal to develop a Yugoslav society in which the development of all nations and nationalities and the achievement of national equality are crucial factors in reinforcing national unity. Existing national characteristics and differences should be used to enrich our multinational community. We have yet to prove and demonstrate, he added, that national pluralism and "competitiveness" can be seen as social resources and the potential for development, rather than a burden and demnation.

In the process of exploding the national consciousness, attempts are being made to promote a person's ethnic background as the sole relevant definition, all other criteria becoming marginal or invalid. Nationalist movements must, by their very essence, blur the dividing line between the things which are true national values and those which are nationalist abuse.

According to these lies and policies, a person is reduced to just one of his dimensions—the ethnic one.

Thus, democracy is being destroyed in the nation itself and in its relations with other nations.

Our experience, particularly the recent one, proves, Racan said, that the expansion of nationalism is a sign of deep social divisions; that living creative links among peoples and nations have been torn; that the authentic values and ideals have been destroyed and human rights violated; that instead of conscience, reason, and experience hot blood and irrationality are taking the stage.

There is a great deal in our situation that illustrates the damage, perniciousness, and unacceptability of pressures among relations between people, nation, and nationalities. The emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo proves this, as well as the overall state of intraethnic relations in Kosovo but also, ever increasingly, in Yugoslavia.

The disputes over how much one has done for the "Yugoslav cause," assigning great deeds to oneself or blaming others for great injustices, not only is a step back to the past and running away from today's problems and solutions, but is also a justification for one's own nationalist program and policies, of isolationist tendencies and mistrust of Yugoslavia, and of one's own aspirations at the expense of others and at the expense of equality between the republics and at the federation level.

The deterioration in intraethnic relations is also characterized by the process of blurring the dividing line between the national and the nationalist within one's "own" nation, Ivica Racan assessed in his introductory address at today's plenum of the LCY Central Committee.

At the same time, Racan noted, the difference between the national in one's "own nation" and the nationalist in "the other nation" is getting increasingly sharper. Within one's own nation almost everything is regarded as legitimate and the presentation and defense of national rights, whereas within the other nation, nationalism appears to be in every corner.

Thus, it appears that national conduct in one nation consolidates and defends Yugoslavia and is legal in the framework of intraethnic relations, whereas the same conduct in the other nation threatens and destroys Yugoslavia and is not allowed in intraethnic relations, Ivica Racan stressed.

A paradoxical situation happens all too often: The same act is interpreted in one context as a regular expression of national rights and interests, and in the other as an undisputable nationalist excess; in one context it is condemned, and in the other it is followed by awards and recognition. This is a matter of the increasingly obvious absence of a minimum of ideological and politically unified criteria, Racan assessed.

During the preparations for this plenum, the republican and provincial LC organizations held similar sessions. The volume of material generated makes it apparent that the discussions were wide-ranging and extensive. The impression is that all these discussions more or less failed to cast a more precise and self-critical light on their own problems, nationalist tendencies, and ideological, political, and practical attitudes toward all these issues, he said.

Equal national relations imply that none of the nations can have fewer rights than the others, nor can they demand more rights than the others. National affirmation of any given nation must not be aimed against other nations.

In such a community, every nation and nationality, every republic and province has dual responsibility: for its own development and common development, for the development of the Yugoslav community and its cohesive parts. This responsibility is an achievement of our democracy and civilization.

The members of nationalities have the right to freely develop their own national, and cultural identities and values, and to use their own language and alphabet while respecting the rights of others. On the other hand, the socio-political community is duty-bound to provide them with necessary material and other conditions. Insistence on national emancipation and affirmation carries an obligation to consistently oppose those who, under an alleged concern for the national development of "their" nation in other republics, question national equality and particularly the existing Yugoslav federalism: from demands for creating new autonomous, administrative, and political units within the existing federal units, to questioning the very existence of some federal units. Ethnocentric paternalist attitudes towards the members of one's own nation in other environments is not just an apotheosis of the so-called national state and its logic of acting, but also a direct elimination of those historic reasons that were leading our nations and nationalities to fight for their social and national liberation in the national liberation struggle, for their co-existence and equality and for constituting themselves on the only viable basis: the federal system of their community.

Every empirical insight into daily life shows, Racan noted, the danger of the negative consequences of the so-called national homogenization and rallying together in the multi-national arrangement of our community, and this is particularly true under the circumstances of a deepening social crisis. The process of homogenizing one nation stimulates and speeds up the homogenization of another. The absence of social reform and renewal is

fueling the struggle for power within the nation and among them, and the process of homogenization becomes the process of national confrontation.

The policy of national reconciliation is the most aggressive and inevitable consequence of the policy of national homogenization. In Croatia, for example, the demand has been expressed for the reconciliation of all Croats, in Slovenia this was expressed as the demand for a "monument of reconciliation," and in Serbia a re-interpretation of the causes and consequences of the national division in the last war—Ivica Racan emphasized in his introductory address at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

This is not a matter, he stressed, of a humane and humanist approach towards the fratricidal war, but rather a propensity to consolidate one's ranks and condemn the fact that the Croat was fighting the Croat, the Serb was shooting at the Serb. In doing this one equalizes liberators and traitors, anti-fascists and fascists, and the innocent and criminals, even treating them as the victims of different ideologies.

Such a haphazardness of national homogenization, concord, and reconciliation provokes similar manoeuvers in other nations and environments. It leads to intraethnic schisms, discord, and confrontations of tragic proportions. In this case the repetition of history is not a farce, since it might be an even greater tragedy and negation of man than the preceding one.

One's own attitude to the tendency towards separatism and unitarism is feeding ideological confusion and the loss of principled ideological and theoretical criteria for assessing what is what. Nothing better illustrates the national ideological positions, where the criteria for what is what are lost, than the fact that one danger for the socialist federative community is overestimated while the other is negated. Rich historic experience shows that separatism and unitarism, these two poles and aspects of bureaucratic nationalism, emerge along the same lines and answer each other in their struggle to redistribute power, and that they mutually feed each other. It appears that there is an awareness of this but that it is being subdued. Otherwise, how should one explain the phenomenon that every criticism of, for example, separatism and unitarism, is perceived in some environments and leaderships as an attack on one's own republic and nation.

A similar explanation is needed, Racan says, of hegemonism. National equality as well as intraethnic conflicts are expressed at different levels of the social organization. This fact alone prevents the problem of hegemonism from being reduced to only one nation, the most numerous one in Yugoslavia. This would only be possible if some hypothetically established Yugoslav unitarist centralism ensured, at various levels of society's organization, the domination of the same nation over the other ones, regardless of its size in a certain environment. Of course, this would represent an end to the federal system of the Yugoslav community and to all kinds of equality in relations between the nations and nationalities and, in its final consequence, to the possibility of co-existence.

The federal system is not just an issue of the organization and functioning of the state. The Yugoslav peoples have created the Yugoslav socialist community out of their free will.

The federal system of our community is the precondition for and the guarantee of full national equality. One should not, and must not, avoid reasoned debates on the content, institutions and way of realizing our political system in general and Yugoslav federalism. One should not repeat the typical ideological mistake so far: equating the principles of Yugoslav federalism with some of its institutions and mechanisms, something that was often perceived as an attack on the federal system in the critical debates on any individual federal institution or office.

The security and stable development of our socialist community is also founded on the concept and practices of all-peoples' defense and, within its framework, on the Yugoslav Peoples' Army in its capacity of the common armed forces of all our nations and nationalities, working people and citizens. Therefore, we must oppose in an energetic, consistent and reasoned way various nationalist attacks on the concept of all-peoples' defense and the Yugoslav Peoples' Army, particularly in the environments where these attacks occur. Full democratic development of intraethnic relations and the equality of nations and nationalities are one of the basic prerequisites for the concept and practice of all-peoples' defense. Hence, we must be aware that such a concept and practice is threatened by every deterioration in society's intraethnic relations.

The policy of national equality as pursued by the Yugoslav Communist Party and later the LCY eventually became institutionalized in the form of Yugoslav federalism. Regardless of the concrete solutions, this principle has never been questioned as an embodiment of national policy. In light of the historic achievements of the national liberation war and the socialist revolution in resolving nationality issues and developing intraethnic relations, it is no accident that the LCY has always advocated continuity in implementing the policy of national equality on which the AVNOJ- [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] based Yugoslavia has developed.

It is an historical fact, Racan stressed, that the creation of the SFRY was possible due precisely to the fact that the socialist revolution was interpreted as an inseparable unity of social and national liberation. Neither socialism in a multi-nationality community nor national affirmation and equality in socialism are possible without this common factor. There will be no Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia without the equality of its nations and nationalities, without brotherhood and unity, without a

democratic federal system. The LCY therefore cannot accept any attempt to revise the policy of national equality. Yugoslavia was created as a result of our people's free will and their right to choose freely. Its fate is therefore not in the hands of one or two of its nations. Neither the size of the nation or nationality nor the economic strength of the given socialist republic or autonomous province can provide grounds for a privileged position in intraethnic relations. Neither can past historic rights nor real or imagined merits, Racan stressed.

The national issue cannot be resolved in one step. The central issue is that of how successful our concept of social development is and to what extent it can serve as a fertile ground for the development of intraethnic relations.

So, instead of continuing pointlessly in the vicious circle of national problems and conflicts, of giving in to nationalist ideas and illusions, deceits and self-deceits, we must resume efforts in and direct our attention toward the complicated and strenuous implementation of social reforms and development as the sole instruments for ensuring the development of our community, of the nation, and the individual.

Efforts to resolve our crisis along the global European lines will do more for our integration into Europe than any declaration. The principle of pluralism as a basis for reconstructing national and political relations, the complementary relationship between the common and the singular, the principle of cooperation and tolerance instead of squabbles, the principle of wealth in diversity—would not our creative attitude to all this bring us closer to Europe, help us integrate into European reality and, above all, pull us out of the crisis and the dead-end we have found ourselves in our socialist development? In view of such processes, is it not pathetic that we turn to Europe and "European arguments" only when in need of additional arguments in our intraethnic and inter-republican conflicts and quarrels, Racan asked.

In the democratic, multi-national Yugoslav community, problems can be resolved only by respecting equality and not through clashes or temporary and false compromises. Our community cannot develop by taking into consideration the interests of only one of the republics or its present leadership. One strong republic does not mean a strong Yugoslavia. Either all its republics will be strong or there will be no Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's stability and strength does not lie in the collusion between individual republics to the detriment of others, nor will they be secured through battles of attrition. We can ill afford to let nationalist and national conflicts decide the SFRY's fate. No nationalism is a cure for another. However, nationalisms feed on each other, thus pushing this community and its people towards the abyss. In no way should a nation be identified with those who want to control, manipulate, and organize it along chauvinist lines.

All this indicates the importance of consistency in pursuing Tito's message about the need to fight nationalism, etatism, and bureaucratism in one's own nation, and intolerance of individual nations or nationalities. By concerted efforts we can all successfully counter those who foment hatred and those who want to sow discord among people. This is the best way to defend our national dignity and reaffirm our genuine concern for the development of our own nation, for the development and prospects of life together, and for the progress of the entire Yugoslav community. Let this be the basis for our relations, the focus of our preoccupations and creativity. Let this be the basis for comparison between us and, instead of national allegiances and divisions, let us unite our forces of reform, Ivica Racan said, inter alia, in his introductory report at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

Interethnic Meeting Begins

LD3007121889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0936 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The extent of interest in the discussion on interethnic relations can be best illustrated by the fact that so far 42 members of the Central Committee have already applied for the rostrum. They comprise one fourth of the LCY Central Committee composition.

Today's plenum is attended by 138 members out of the Central Committee composition's 165 members. This also points out, in the language of numbers, that putting this issue on the agenda was a justified move. It should be noted that in the recent past, the Central Committee sessions have had problems getting a quorum.

More on Interethnic Relations

LD3007133789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency member Ivica Racan assessed in his inaugural statement at today's session of the Central Committee that there is increasing concern and apprehension in Yugoslavia over inter-nationality confrontations and their possible tragic dimensions.

At the session devoted to inter-nationality relations which opened in Belgrade's Sava Center today, Racan called on Communists, primarily the republican-provincial leaderships, to put a stop to unprincipled disputes and those without elements of self-criticism. Such conflicts, he assessed, exceed the limits of understandable and legitimate differences and those which are desirable in the interest of creativity.

Appealing for a sober and argumented debate, Racan assessed that the deterioration of inter-nationality relations is primarily a reflection of the crisis of a statist model of socialism which has not been overcome yet.

This model, he added, is no longer able to solve the fundamental social controversies and problems of development and therefore cannot be a useful basis for settling internationality relations.

The inefficiency and ineptness of the League of Communists and other socialist forces to overcome the crisis are partly responsible for the present situation Racan assessed. Racan believes that the deterioriation of internationality relations stems from the statism and bureaucratism which was earlier presented "in the name of the (?masses)" and now "in the name of the nation."

The only efficient dam to the flood of nationalism, Ivica Racan assessed, is the spreading of the domains of freedom, democracy and dignity of man, and therefore the question of a nation cannot (?be viewed) exclusively as an administrative-political question or a question of state.

Racan assessed that the republican and provincial communist organizations were not sufficiently self-critical regarding the instances of nationalism in their midst in their preparations for today's session to inter-nationality relations.

This criticism pertains to the insufficiently clear distinction between the national and the nationalistic within one's "own" nation. Namely, national relations on equal basis implicitly imply that no single nation can have more rights than another, nor can it secure national affirmation by inflicting harm on another.

Racan went on to criticize what he called an ethnopaternalistic attitude to the sections of one's own people in other republics, which is directly opposed to the federative system of Yugoslavia.

He saw national homogenizations as a particularly grave danger in multinational Yugoslavia because, in his agreement, a process of national homogenization turns into one of national confrontation and leads to a confrontation of tragic proportions.

Racan also warned of possible tragic consequences of ignoring the historical experience with separatism and unitarianism, the two forms and poles of bureaucratic nationalism emerging side-by-side in the struggle for power.

To quarrel about who did how much for the "Yugoslav cause," to ascribe great merits to one's own people and blame others for grave injustices means turning to the past and trying to escape from presentday problems and from dealing with them, said Racan. This also constitutes a justification of national programmes and policies, of one's own aspirations at the expense of others and of the equality in republics and provinces and in the federation, he specified.

Racan recalled the historical fact that the creation of the socialist federal republic of Yugoslavia was possible precisely because the socialist revolution had [word indistinct] regarded as a unity of social and national emancipation. Therefore there can be no Yugoslavia without the equality of all nations and nationalities and a democratic federal order, he said.

This is why the League of Communists can not accept any revision of the policy of national equality, he said. The future of Yugoslavia therefore is not in the hands of only one or two peoples, nor can any people enjoy any privileges on the basis of its numbers or economic power, he said.

At the end, Racan said that instead of looking back one should turn to the painstaking implementation of social reform and development and to mutual cooperation and tolerance so that the country could become integrated into Europe. Instead of ethnic divisions and rifts, let us unify the forces of reform, said Racan.

Racan's Speech 'Causes Confusion'

AU3007151889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] The members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] are today discussing the communists' tasks concerning the development of interethnic relations on the foundations of socialist self-management. This topic has not been chosen by the highest leadership of the Yugoslav Communists accidentally, because the deterioration in interethnic relations has reached the critical point, or that limit beyond which the country's security would be threatened and all the intended and necessary reforms impossible to carry out.

Therefore, the opening speaker, Ivica Racan, warned that today we need a sensible and well argued discussion, rather than unprincipled quarrels and clashes that lack self-criticism, because we simply need to know how to work in the future.

Many views expressed in the opening speech caused confusion among the members of the Central Committee, who then sought the explanation as to whether Racan's speech was approved by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The chairman, Petar Simic, informed the plenum that the version of Ivica Racan's speech read today was not reviewed by the Presidium, but that the Presidium did review the first version of the speech.

Muhamed Abadzic, who devoted his entire speech to Serbian nationalism and who analyzed the work of the Serbian leadership in this respect, caused sharp polemics and opposition.

Bogdan Trifunovic replied by saying that in its concept of a social reform, the Serbian LC has clearly stated what it thinks and which stands it strives for, and that it therefore rightly expects a constructive approach to its platform instead of malicious attacks.

To what extent the members of the LCY Central Committee seriously understood the topic on interethnic relations, and above all on everyday events, is illustrated by the fact that 46 members of one quarter of all members of the Central Committee asked to speak.

The session will last 2 days.

At present the participants in the plenum have a break. The discussion will continue at 1600.

30 Jul Proceedings Reviewed

LD3007211289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia does not need a (?review) of the national question but consistent implementation of one of the founding principles of the Yugoslav federation on the equality of all the nations and nationalities living in it, agreed the participants in the Yugoslav Communist Party Plenum which opened in Belgrade on Sunday.

The two-day plenum on inter-nationality relations started with a reconciliatory opening address by member of (?the top) party leadership Ivica Racan, who said that concern and fears over inter-nationality confrontations and their possible tragic consequences were mounting in Yugoslavia.

The reasons for the flaring up of inter-nationality conflicts [words indistinct] by Racan as lying in the crisis of the model of statist socialism and the incapability of the party and other socialist forces to overcome it.

Appealing on behalf of the party leadership to communists to stop unprincipled quarrels, Racan called for broader freedoms and rights (?of) citizens and a stronger democracy as the only effective dam against the flood of nationalism and [word indistinct].

The clearing up of frictions among Yugoslavia's peoples, nationalities and constituent republics [word indistinct] as crucial for Yugoslavia's survival is on at the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] plenary session without sharp confrontations, contrary to expectations.

One gains an impression from today's debate that representatives for the LCY's republic- and province-level organisations are trying, through a serious analysis and an argumented dispute, to come (?to) joint stands on the causes of the growing of nationalism and chauvinism all over the country. It is by "keeping the ball close to the ground" that they are obviously attempting to come to a joint platform in reaction to the crisis in interethnic relations.

In moderate tones crystallised because their evaluations that national hatred and conflicts feed on the prevailing economic crisis, but that their fundamental cause is the struggle for a redistribution of power within the country. [sentence as received] This was why a majority came out in favour of an efficient state and a free economy as well as of an up-to-date reformed party. Yugoslavia's multiethnic character cannot and must not serve for limiting democracy and political pluralism, it was heard.

The problem of inter-nationality relations depend on what concept of society and what federal state Yugoslavia wants, it was said in (?the debate). Whereas there are no major differences, at least not in principle, regarding the concept of new socialism, there is a continuing strife about the structure of the federation.

It was said in the debate that the inter-nationality relations were aggravated also by tendencies towards centralism and unitarianism and towards an unpermissible revision of federal relations. Other views, however, blamed for the same thing the tendencies towards a confederation of the country and towards the rounding of national states which is otherwise conducive to the complete political and economic disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Concerning the question of inter-nationality conflicts, the country's industrialized north and its underdeveloped south clashed at this plenum too. Representatives of the League of Communists of the northern Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and even those of Bosnia-Herzegovina pointed invariably to the harm being done by national homogenizations to inter-nationality peace.

Criticisms as to the process of homogenization were mainly (?addressed) to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's biggest republic Serbia which has in this way countered the attempts at territorial splitting and jeopardizing its own state sovereignty. The processes of homogenization in the other parts of the country were at the same time justified as being reactions to the events in Serbia.

Moderate tones heard at the LCY plenum were disturbed by the so-far fiercest attack from the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the League of Communists of Serbia, fault being found with Serbia's leadership for its support to demands for forming separate institutions for ethnic Serbs living in the Republic of Croatia. If such a principle were applied, this would pose a danger to interethnic relations in a multinational environment such as one in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Serbia's League of Communists was also reproached for having not clearly dissociated itself from nationalists in its own environment as well as for not opposing attempts at exporting [passage indistinct] groundless accusations of their fostering greater-Serbia pretensions, an unitarist concept and paternalism over Serbs living in other parts of Yugoslavia. The LC [League of Communists] of Serbia supports nothing else but that in other constituent republics, [word indistinct] respected be the principle of equality on which Yugoslavia is founded [word indistinct] it was repeated.

In the [words indistinct] Communists, a real danger to Yugoslavia's unity lies in other kinds of homogenization—those which try to breathe a new life into local

economies and amount to bursting [word indistinct] its kind of nationalist programs offering "to save their own peoples or nationalities" while not taking account of all-Yugoslav interests.

The debate today showed that a majority in the Central Committee considers all nationalisms as equally aggressive and [word indistinct] fraught, that it favours doing away with national-chauvinist excesses of intolerance in the country and this by way of having everybody oppose them in his own environment, first of all.

Morina Addresses Kosovo Example

LD3007221689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2155 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 30 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo is the best example of what can ensue when tolerating one own's nationalistic feelings and the flaring up of chauvinism, Rahman Morina, president of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee, warned at the plenary session of the LCY CC [Central Committee] on interethnic relations here today.

Emergency measures were introduced in this Yugoslav province, a part of the Republic of Serbia, to deal with the escalation of ethnic Albanian separatism at the end of last February. The ensuing armed revolt of ethnic Albanians took the toll of 24 people killed.

Reminding of the tragic consequences of ethnic conflicts, Morina came out against nationalistic programs and platforms.

Under the pretext of defending the rights of ethnic Albanians, being disparaged in some parts of Yugoslavia is the policy of the present provincial leadership, Morina pointed out at the same time. In his opinion, such practices are being used by those forces in Yugoslavia which oppose the LCY's unified policy towards Kosovo.

The ethnic Albanians in Kosovo are in no danger, the head of the provincial party committee said, pointing out that behind theses like that to be found is "longing for the time when Kosovo provided the seed of discord in both Serbia and Yugoslavia" and when "swords were crossed over the lack of Serbia's unity" in Yugoslavia.

Standing up in defence of the ethnic Albanians are those who start from the wrong idea that the Serbs have their Serbia, the Croats their Croatia, the Slovenes their Slovenia and, consequently, the ethnic Albanians should have - Kosovo, Morina said. None of Yugoslavia's constituent republics or provinces belongs to one people or nationality alone, but to all peoples and nationalities who live together in it, Kosovo's LC [League of Communists] chief said.

Some other accounts with the Republic of Serbia cannot be settled by way of Kosovo, nor one's own separatist aspirations can be hidden, Morina said in conclusion.

More on Proceedings

LD3107021589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0924 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 Jul (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] activity regarding the development of intraethnic relations on the basis of socialist self-management is the main topic of the 2-day 25th session of the LCY Central Committee, which opened today in the Sava Center in Belgrade. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of the session, Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, presented the introductory speech about the current state of intraethnic relations.

Before the discussion, in which 42 persons applied to take part, Petar Simic, the presiding member explained in connection with questions asked in the break, that the LCY Central Committee Presidium examined the first version of the introductory speech and put a series of remarks to it. Afterwards, the Presidium did not discuss the introductory speech, Simic said. [passage omitted]

Revision of the policy of national equality is unacceptable for the League of Communists [LC], Branko Mamula said. According to him, the blazed national conflicts and hatreds, unacceptable national or nationalistic doctrines cannot be defeated unless leaderships in environments of their origin put an end to them. The LC, he added, must find strength to carry out cadre renewal at the forthcoming elections and congress preparations. Proponents of intraethnic conflicts will have to go from the social scene. Otherwise, the LCY reputation will be irretrivable, and the LCY will not be able to assume the leading position in the process of social revival.

All current social processes, Mamula noted, are outside the LCY. The LC sufers the greatest degradation in the inflamed intraethnic and intrarepublican relations. We are in danger of losing unity within the LCY, and thereby, the single Yugoslav community. The LC can prevent this only through its own democratic revival and reforms of social, political, and economic strategies.

Through the congress, we must find a joint approach to all main directions of development, Mamula said. Only in this way can we adopt stances and make decisions at the congress. Without this, we can only expect deepening of quarrels, even a break up of the LC, from the congress. [passage omitted]

We in Kosovo felt most deeply what it means to underestimate dangers of one's own nationalism and fomentation of nationalistic passions, and what grave consequences they can bring about, Rahman Morina said. For a long time, national interests have been put forward;

class interests were pushed in the background and in some places even forgotten. The alleged national interest was in fact the interest of the bureaucratic strata, which has been acting for a long time aided by nationalism.

Our orientation, in which the Kosovo LC will persist, is not to allow Albanian nationalists to jeopardize the integrity of all of Yugoslavia, regarding the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], Tito's Yugoslavia, the socialist federal community of equal nations and nationalities, neither we in Kosovo nor communists in other parts of the country must permit anyone to bargain about retailoring of our common homeland. It is high time for us to return to our senses and to unity and trust each other. The entire Yugoslav public expects this, and this is in the interest of us all; it is the desire of all our nations and nationalities.

It must be clear to everyone, Morina went on, that the Kosovo LC is carrying the most difficult battle against the counterrevolution, against Albanian nationalists and separatists at this moment. In this struggle, nations and nationalities in Kosovo reject both separatist and unitaristic policies. We do not want national programs and platforms, because we remember well the grave consequencs of national isolations and divisions. Kosovo is neither Albanian nor Serbian nor Montenegrin. It is a community of all its nations and nationalities, and such a Kosovo must and can exist. No republic or province is Serbian or Slovenian or Croatian, or belongs to any other nation or nationality, but it belongs to everyone living in it.

There can be only one truth about Kosovo, Morina stressed, adding that the truth is penetrating some parts of our country with difficulty. Perhaps it does not suit some, he said.

Some recent movements in the country, according to Morina, show that there are some who want to see an increase in nationalism. There are some for whom it would be suitable if Kosovo were the permanent hotbed of misunderstandings in Yugoslavia, and if it were to secede from its republic and the country, because then they would be nearer to fulfilling their own separatist aspirations. There are those who in this or that way instigate Albanian nationalists in Kosovo under the guise of interest in or struggle for their national rights.

There are those who proceed from the throught that Serbs have Serbia, Croats Croatia, Slovenes Slovenia, and that Albanians should have Kosovo. They forget that everywhere in the country, even in Kosovo, other nations and nationalities live together as equals; they forget that Albanians together with everyone in Kosovo decided voluntarily to live in Serbia, in the AVNOJ Yugoslavia. They forget that emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from their ancestoral homes under the pressure of Albanian nationalists is not just exodus of these people, but inflicts pain to a great majority of Albanians who sincerely sympathize with their former neighbors and friends.

The support of the Central Committee must be greater, more practical, and clearer regarding the Kosovo LC and its efforts. In resolving problems accumulated over many years, Morina went on, we in Kosovo are trying to fight for the Yugoslav orientation, which we envision through a creation of common interests of all nations and nationalities. We will fight energetically and persistently to prevent the realization of nationalistic goals of ethnically pure Kosovo and "Kosovo Republic." We will not allow Kosovo to be an excuse for the revival of Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism, and we will fight against all nationalism. Furthermore, we will not allow the spread of the belief that Albanians are the destabilizing factor in Yugoslavia, or the formation of an anti-Albanian atmosphere on this basis, which still unfortunately exists.

Likewise, we will not allow the spread of the thesis that Albanians in Yugoslavia do not have any rights, because precisely in Tito's Yugoslavia they witnessed the greatest prosperity. We in Kosovo found out that disunited and alienated we can do nothing. For that reason, the front for the struggle of all progressive forces—Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, and all nations and nationalities living in Kosovo—is currently gaining strength. For this we need the help of the whole country. We must repeat here too, Morina stressed, that various statements of some individuals about the alleged threat to human rights of Albanians in Kosovo, about policies which threaten Albanians in Kosovo, caused us troubles and set us back. Sincere, honest, and humane support to the Kosovo LC is missing.

Many efforts are made to contest the policies carried out in Kosovo. No day goes by without articles being published which demean the current political course and work in Kosovo. All this is allegedly in the name of defending Albanians in Kosovo. They do not want to understand that we are fighting for LCY policies, which were in jeopardy in Kosovo, and for Yugoslavia, whose foundations were shaken in Kosovo. The LCY and this Central Committee bear this.

It is of the enormous and long-lasting interest for the situation in Kosovo that differences, which even assume proportions of deceit, be removed in the country, Morina went on. One cannot settle some other accounts, for instance with the republic of Serbia, through Kosovo, or hide behind it one's own separatist aspirations.

Despite clear conclusions of this Central Committee about the situation in Kosovo, one can ask even today why some environments express distrust in the actions of the Kosovo LC. Is what one reads in some public media or hears at some platforms a lamentation for the times when Kosovo was a seed of discord in the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia, when swords were crossed in a disunited republic of Serbia, when through Kosovo, and not for Kosovo and normalization of the situation in Kosovo, one preserved one's own status and interest, which were not common, and therefore not the interests of Yugoslavia?

Now, when united assessments are reached and united actions are carried out in the Serbian LC and the Kosovo LC, which was a demand of this Central Committee, it turned out that precisely this is in the way of some forces. If unity in the Republic of Serbia was a demand of the Central Committee, then the question arises of whether these forces are against the policies carried out in Kosovo, and hence, against LCY policy. Isn't the wish to directly deny everything adopted by the Central Committee regarding political stances about measures and actions undertaken with the aim to normalize the situation in Kosovo hidden behind this?

The aim of ideopolitical differentiation is not rejection of people, but above all to gather everyone who acts on the lines of progress, on the lines of brotherhood and unity, on the clear lines of the LCY, Morina said.

Albanian nationality in Kosovo needs no defense, because it is not threatened by anyone. Albanian nationalists, who are losing positions, privileges and former status are threatened. The Kosovo LC drew a clear demarcation line between the Albanian nation and nationalists, and it will consistently observe the demarcation line.

Drawing attention to different approaches to the issue of overcoming nationalism in political practice, Morina pointed out that a clear borderline between national and nationalistic is often missing. The LC is withdrawing under the pressure of national interests, and is neglecting class and common interests.

In the struggle against nationalism, he added, our society cannot give up the right to undertake necessary measures, not just political but moral and legal too, against proponents of nationalistic activity. Work with people is the most important, especially with young ones—work that ensures that they are not under the influence of or object of manipulation of nationalists and separatists, Morina concluded. [passage omitted]

The crisis that has been with us for many years has demonstrated a lack of preparedness on our part to carry out changes in the existing economic system. We have therefore decided that a new one should be developed with economic efficiency and political democracy as its dominant features, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], said. We have realized that the state, the economy, macroeconomic policy, and the political system will have to be reformed.

Differences and contrasts between individual areas which, either for objective or subjective reasons, do exist, hamper the changes we agreed upon. The SFRY Constitution is increasingly becoming an obstacle to the changes. This means that it has to be changed. We are in the process of developing a single Yugoslav integral economic system by proceeding from the standpoint that the number of markets will depend on the extent to which we integrate into world economic trends.

Under the new system, all problems will have to be resolved globally, a great number of issues will have to be discussed and resolved simultaneously. I, myself was aware that at some stage all dogmatic and extreme left forces would rally in the struggle against the reform, Markovic continued. We are asked to ensure that a single change will not imply changes in work organizations or municipalities, regions, provinces, or republics. We are asked to account for each individual decision, Markovic added, and went on to ask if it is possible to change anything while leaving things as they are.

So many problems have accumulated, Markovic continued, that it is justified to ask to reexamine whether, in fact, we do want to develop a new system and whether we favor solutions we opted for or not. Pressures are growing to view each solutions or proposal by the federal government through the interests of one's own nation. As an illustration of the resistance to the reforms, Markovic cited the example of continued pressures on those economic entities that should make decisions independently. I have toured all the republics, he said, and my impression is that politicians and the state not only continue to "dictate" in cadre policy but also are trying to impose technological and developmental solutions.

At the same time, under the reform the economy should be independent and should bear the consequences of its own operations.

If society is to function properly, it is not enough just to reform the system, Markovic said. The state must be reformed, too. It must serve to protect the market and firms: it must exercise greater influence on monetary policy. there is no modern economic system in the world today in which the federal state is not allowed to have considerable powers, especially concerning the monetary system.

Listing the well-publicized measures taken by the FEC and the results achieved so far in the spheres of economic policy, Markovic drew attention to some specific examples of how individual moves by the federal government have been either stopped or slowed down. These include problems over the adoption of the federal budget, changes in the way clearing earnings are calculated, the abolition of Yugo-promissory notes, deferred repayment loans, and the restrictions under which personal incomes are to be paid out once a month.

The impact of the "slashed" federal budget on recovery in the economy and society and on anti-inflationary policy are more than obvious, Markovic continued. However, we encountered difficulties when the budget was to be adopted because some parts of the country felt that it was to their detriment. In my view, it was to everyone's detriment, especially to the federation and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA]. At the same time, calls for a reduction in budgetary expenditure in the republics, provinces, and municipalities remain unheeded. This was confirmed by an independent observer, i.e. the IMF.

An impression is being created that the citizen is paying the price for the anti-inflationary measures. According to indicators, however, in the first 6 months of this year, personal incomes grew by 3.9 percent in real terms as compared with last year. In May alone, their increase in real terms was 19.9 percent.

Indexation carried out is not based on realistic indicators. People's living standard is said to have deteriorated over the last few months, but this is not true. The standard of living is low because it continued to erode for years.

All this is being used to prepare the scenario to topple those who are responsible for what is happening in society, Markovic continued, referring here indirectly to the FEC, which he sees as the scapegoat. The anti-inflationary policy must be adhered to at all levels, including the clearing area. The figures have shown that the highest 6-month exports to this area were from Croatia, followed by Serbia and Slovenia. Do the federal government and the federation have the right to conduct an economic policy even if all the firms doing business with the clearing area come from the territory of one of our sociopolitical community?

There has been an outcry over the FEC's decisions in the area of agriculture. We have liberalized the majority of prices in this area and total intervention measures and subsidies this year amount to 21 trillion dinars or one third of the budget. Nothing is being changed since the money is being spent across the board without the necessary changes in the structure and the way production is organized. A large rally is being organized of peasant farmers. It will be the case of "the peasant farmer has spoken." They are being prepared to topple those who at the moment are the only one supporting them, Markovic said, alluding again at the federal government.

Speaking about the need to draw up social policy programs necessary because of great differences in the level of development between various parts of the country, Markovic noted that the federation's potentials in this area were very small and asked why the municipalities, the republics, and provinces have done nothing about this.

In conclusion, Markovic reiterated that resistance to changes in macroeconomic policy are great and that we have been constantly arguing about who has lost and who has won. He said that in autumn the FEC will submit to the nation and the SFRY Assembly a specific report on which of its measures have been blocked. There is a high degree of unanimity in the FEC about all important issues. [passage omitted]

Then Borisav Jovic, vice-president of the SFRY Assembly, asked to take the platform. He said that he was prompted to take part in the discussion by the FEC president's statement that a scenario for toppling the government is behind its criticisms. I deeply disagree with this, Jovic said. Markovic is assessing the situation incorrectly, for he has to understand that he is responsible for his work above all to the SFRY Assembly and its delegates. All problems should be clarified there. It is inevitable that all proposals will be criticized. I do not see how all FEC proposals could be adopted without criticisms. Talking about the crisis of the federal budget, Jovic pointed out that the SFRY Presidency too discussed it. We also talked about the decision regarding ways of recovering outstanding debts from the clearing area and we noted that it is not based in the law. The FEC must act in accordance with the existing laws, and if they are not good it should go to the assembly and ask that they be changed. [passage omitted]

Replying to criticism of FEC policies on agriculture, Markovic stressed that the government does not proceed from the assumption that it is the only one in the right, but it demands that all criticisms be based on arguments. He cited the example of the refusal of the decision to ban salary payments in several monthly installments, although it is known that only 11 percent of the wealthiest Yugoslav enterprises are doing this. That move was anti-inflationary, like the one concerning the clearing area. Commenting on demands for laying down precise accounts regarding burdening of economies of republics and provicnes on the basis of the federal budget, he asked whether one can implement macroeconomic policies if it is constantly judged how each of us has fared.

Markovic reiterated the statement that the federation is the only one to subsidize interest rate on loans for agriculture, whereas no republic or province has done that. We must have the right views based on arguments and not on ability to make noises, Markovic finally said. In such a situation, it is impossible to ensure support for the implementation of the outlined program. [passage omitted]

Communists should not permit the underestimation of nationalist forces, Ali Sukrija said, because the consequences could be fateful. We must be critical and self-critical in the assessment of the causes of nationalism, which is present in all national environments and in the LC as well.

The most serious consequences of nationalist activity are in Kosovo where, Sukrija recalled, we are faced with an aggressive and militant movement of Albanian nationalism and separatism, which threaten the peace and security of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia. The extraordinary measures of the SFRY Presidency in this situation are therefore justified. Nationalism easily discovers space for activity wherever the LC and the state organs fail to carry out their tasks.

Sowing intraethnic distrust is inhuman and from there "it is only one step to fratricidal crimes." As a result, the LC is obliged to oppose nationalism energetically, above all each in his own environment, and thereafter all together against all nationalism.

Stating that stabilization of the situation in Kosovo is being achieved in exceptionally delicate circumstances, Sukrija stressed that the unity achieved in the assessments of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee has contribtued to the reaching of united stances on these problems in the LCY Central Committee as well.

The political action now being undertaken in Kosovo is visible and this is why the ideologues of Albanian nationalism and separatism are accusing the leadership of the province and the Republic of Serbia of conducting a struggle against the Albanian intelligentsia and the interests of the Albanian nationality as a whole.

The statement, Sukrija went on, that "AVNOJ Yugoslavia was defended at Stari Trg" [reference to the strikes by Albanian miners earlier this year] is not an accidental one and time will show that this was indeed a matter of a nationalist plot against AVNOJ Yugoslavia.

The battle for differentiation in Kosovo is not going easily in all environments, both because of opportunism and because of the pressures on Albanian cadres, who, apart from threats, are being accused of Serbophilia. Thus, according to Sukrija, it is vital to strengthen the common front of the struggle of Albanians, Serbs, and Montenegrins against Albanian nationalism and separatism, but also against Serbian and all other nationalisms, as well as against anti-Albanian revanchism.

For centuries the Albanian nationality has lived alongside Serbs and other peoples in Kosovo. For 40 years now, together with all the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, it has been building a common life and sharing a common fate with the SFRY. It is an irrefutable fact that the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia enjoys full national equality for the first time in its history. This, Sukrija believes, can be refuted only by those who are not interested in the truth, or in the Albanian nationality either.

Despite the colossal results, Kosovo, however, remains the most undeveloped part of the country. This is why everyone in Kosovo must increase their own efforts tenfold so that the assistance of Yugoslavia and Serbia might be more effective. This will also facilitate making up for lost time in the realization of the Yugoslav program on Kosovo and have an impact on halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this province.

Responsibility, not only collective but also personal responsibility, must be sought from basic LC organizations to this LCY Central Committee for the deterioration in intraethnic relations in each national environment, Sukrija stressed. The LCY Central Committee, as well as the LC committees in the republics and provinces and the LCY Committee in the JNA should be at the helm in this struggle against nationalism. The situation is today such that no one is justified in placing himself above the interests of the country as a whole. Anything else leads to further conflicts, lamentation, and hopelessness, Sukrija concluded.

Today, communists in Yugoslavia, Marko Lolic said, are threatened by the danger of failing in the exam of the national question. In the era of the maturing of a period of history in which capital and new technologies are mercilessly cutting the borders of nation states and creating new integration, in our country it is precisely communists who are often the exponents of mental, ideological, and economic feudalism. [passage omitted]

According to Lolic, Yugoslavia is unfortunately in the grip of a struggle for national souls waged between the old and the new parties. There is less struggle for new reforms, however. All those who have the progress of our community at heart should insist more on democratization, human rights, freedoms, civilizational transformations, and achievements. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that a number of recent sessions of the LCY Central Committee created a bad impression among the people, and demonstrated that in view of the present state of relations and balance of forces in the LCY and in the LCY Central Committee itself it is not realistic to expect today's session to fully overcome differing ideological stands on some of the fundamental issues of intraethnic relations and of Yugoslavia, Simeon Buncic went on to put forward three issues that should be considered.

First, the Central Committee must show more courage in tackling the current social situation, and without vacillation, to let people know the truth about the nature of present conflicts and seething contradictions in society. The causes can be found in the system itself, in the mistakes committed in the past, and in objective contradictions of our social development, but the main reason lies in the fact that there has been a split within the leading forces in society over the directions, methods, and means of overcoming the social crisis, in other words, over Yugoslavia's prospects.

Second, there must be unanimity in assessing the danger posed by growing nationalism and an anticommunist ideology and practice stemming from it. Of greatest importance is the stand that there have been enough euphoric pronouncements about the nationalism of others. There is enough strength to be found in each of our nations, as well as readiness to fight their own nationalism. Their social energies should be directed toward this goal.

Third, it is an urgent social and political need and responsibility to acquaint the public in no uncertain terms about this Central Committee's attitude to the attacks on the life and work of Comrade Tito which devalue our revolution and all that has resulted from it.

In this context, Buncic suggested that the Central Committee should warn the LC leaders in the republics and provinces that they have so far been passive and unconvincing in their pronouncements and measures to counter these attacks. The LCY Central Committee Presidium itself could have assumed a more active attitude, he stressed, noting the unambigous attitude adopted by the LC committee in the JNA at its last session.

In reference to the views and stands on intraethnic relations adopted before today's session by the LC leaders in the republics and provinces and in the JNA, Buncic said that the awareness is gaining ground that the leading political forces of our society are engaged in a severe conflict over Yugoslavia's future. The concepts are varying, there are several of them, and most of them have been known from before. They have been given a more comprehensive formulation in the LC documents.

On the other hand, it is encouraging that all the documents from these sessions have, at least in their principled comittments, established a principle and postulate about how to develop intraethnic relations. They originate from our revolution and have been given their political, practical, and social prominence in almost all stages of our socialist development. [passage omitted]

It can be safely said now that our revolution is being threatened more by intraethnic quarrels between republican leaderships than by internal antiself-management and antisocialist forces which are on the offensive at all fronts—ideological, political, national, and cultural. This is where we find the answer to the question of why the development of society and intraethnic relations within it have been allowed to assume almost dramatic and unforseeable proportions. The main protagonists are probably not aware of the actual and potential consequences of such a development, or else they are so totally blinded by the heated social climate that they do not care about anything that is beyond their interest and standpoint, Buncic said.

Drawing attention to exclusiveness and intolerance among people in key positions, Buncic stressed the need for eliminating the mania of the nationally persecuted, undervalued, insulted, and disenfranchised. These are simply fabricated ideas that provide an opportunity to rally people together in these difficult times to justify a sinister policy. Of special importance is to eliminate the atmosphere of fomented national passions and tensions and deliberate attempts to arouse suspicion about others' malicious and evil intentions. People's minds are burdened by propaganda about the negative aspects of life in other national environments to such an extent that it is a miracle that the incidence of fascist-inspired behavior by various militant nationalist groups at public gatherings is not higher. We have reached the stage where it is necessary to establish binding criteria for conduct in the process of political communication and in relations on the political scene. [passage omitted]

Having stressed that the AVNOJ decisions concerning intraethnic relations provide a stable foundation and a safe signpost, Buncic said that they can not be used as an instrument of everyday barter. Any attempt to rearrange relations in our federation must be suppressed. Our nations and nationalities have enough strength and determination for that, and there is our army which, at the present time of deep divisions has, due to exceptional efforts by its members, maintained its main features as a revolutionary, national army. We are doing our utmost to protect the army from the very destructive nationalist influences. We have concentrated our main efforts on ensuring that the Yugoslav Army continues to confirm itself as the common armed force of all our nations and nationalities, our working people, and citizens of the SFRY. We will not allow its all-Yugoslav, national and socialist character to be threatened in any way. The JNA will always be in the forefront of the struggle to promote the ideas and practice of brotherhood and unity and Yugoslav socialist patriotism.

The LC and this Central Committee do not have a complete idea of the impact current intraethnic confrontations are having on society's defense and self-protective capability. The impact is very destructive and can have very serious consequences. The awareness of common interests has been damaged. The values representing a main motivating force in our defense and security are being destroyed. Nationalism has been eroding our ideopolitical foundations, our moral stamina, our organizational and functional unity, and efficiency of our system of all-people's defense, the security of our society, and the system of self-protection. Some of the fundamental principles and social foundations of all-people's defense and social self-protection are also under threat. In the preparations for the congress we must, therefore, concentrate on comprehensively examining the defense and protection component appropriately and incorporating it fully and not in parts in all the congress documents, Simeon Buncic said in conclusion. [passage omitted]

Boris Muzevic expressed fear that today's debate would result in attacks on the LCY Central Committee and its failure to resolve the situation. Criticism would be less justified if the number of LCY Central Committee members were drastically reduced. This would result in more efficient work of the committee. [Passage omitted]

In his view, present differences are not irreconcilable. We must proceed from the basis of the sovereignty of Yugoslavia—a community of voluntarily joined nations. No one outside a nation, let alone the federation can decide what is good for that nation. Yugoslavia must remain AVNOJ-based, Muzevic stressed, without big and small nations, without more or less deserving ones. The basis for such equality is the principle of democracy. In his view, this principle in our country can function only in conjunction with two others: political pluralism and equality without a majority vote.

Even political pluralism in one nation can become an obstacle to national homongenization, Muzevic said. Constitutional provisions must serve to prevent the relationship of servitude, dependence, the feeling of the lack of freedom, Muzevic stressed, and he went on to call for a federation of equal nations and nationalities. this is the fundamental truth that Slovenia is advocating today. It has slightly lagged behind the stands of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia on similar issues, but it is never too late, Muzevic said. [Passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee resumes work tomorrow.

Radio Reports Day's Events

AU3007192689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 30 Jul 89

[Kosta Krajincanic report]

[Text] The 1st day of the plenum of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is drawing to an end.

Nijaz Skenderagic was the last participant in the discussion. Nobody was announced to speak after him and it is therefore expected that the chairman, Ivica Racan, will announced the end of today's discussion and its continuation tomorrow at 0900 [0700 GMT].

The discussion held this evening also contained many retorts and polemics. A few minutes ago Nikola Jovanovic, Petar Skundric, and Vlajko Stojiljkovic very sharply reacted to the speech by Nijaz Skenderagic who spoke about the history and tradition of the Serbian nation with disdain.

There were other retorts. For instance, replying to Boris Muzevic's remark that national homogenization must have a negative precursor, that is to say that there is no democracy where national homogenizations have been carried out, Dobrivoje Vidic said that one must differentiate between the national homogenization with the positive social aims and those that are being implemented intentionally, according to the principle that it is important that one is of one particular nationality regardless of one's political orientations. He stressed that the later kind of homogenization did not take place in Serbia.

Let us also mention what General Simeon Buncic said in the discussion this evening. He said that our revolution is today threatened more by interethnic quarrels, in which the republican leaderships are leading the way, than by the enemy of socialism and self-management.

This will be all from the Sava Center for today. The final score: The plenum has worked for 12 hours, 27 members of the Central Committee took part in the discussion, and the same number is expected to speak tomorrow, but the differences in views on the problem of interethnic relations have remained the same.

Plenum Resumes 31 Jul

LD3107080689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0644 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jul (TANJUG)—The 25th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee session resumed its debate today on current interethnic relations and the tasks of the League of Communists. Twenty-five members of the Central Committee took part in yesterday's polemics which lasted all day on these problems, and about 20 spoke in response to points raised in the debate. A further 30 or so speakers are slated to speak today.

According to the agenda, the highest party forum at this plenum will also consider changes and addenda to the decisions on the amount of the LCY membership fee. The Central Committee will, apart from this, make its views known about the resignations tendered by Vasil Tupurkovski and Perko Vukotic from membership in the Presidium and the LCY Central Committee, as well as the resignation of LCY Central Committee member Zdravko Grebo.

Radio on 31 Jul Opening

AU3107075989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] The 25th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Yugoslavia has continued in the Sava Center. The delegates are discussing interethnic relations and the tasks of the LC. Miladin Milojevic has the details:

[Milojevic] Respected listeners, good morning. this is Miladin Milojevic from the Sava Center in Belgrade. First of all, to remind ourselves, 27 members of the Central Committee of the LC of Yugoslavia spoke yesterday and 5 delegates have already been on the rostrum this morning.

The first speaker was [name indistinct] Gajic who spoke about the dangers of nationalism in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Ali Kafandrka stressed that worker relations are being destabilized by the occurrences of nationalism.

The next speaker was Bozidar Dedenjak, who spoke first of all in Slovene and then in Serbo-Croatian. He said that he felt restricted speaking Serbo-Croatian. Dedenjak recalled history from the creation of the old Yugoslavia through AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] until the present day. (?What he said caused reactions). The first to react was a delegate from Macedonia who wondered whether we always have to look for differences between peoples. He said that there were fewer differences between Slovenia and Macedonia, that is there are greater differences between Macedonia and Slovenia, than between [word indistinct] and Turks. [sentence as heard]

Miomir Minic is now on the rostrum. That is all from the Sava Center.

Party Presidium Discusses 'Confrontations'

AU2907201889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "The LCY Central Committee Presidium on Current Political Events in the Country and the Tasks of the League of Communists: From Incompetence to Confrontations"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul—The stress in the activities of the League of Communists must lie on the implementation of the key directions of our development, above all the social and economic reform, as well as the further democratization of society. Therefore, instead of indulging in unproductive and unprincipled conflicts, the leaderships of the League of Communists, especially those in the republics and provinces, should resolutely oppose the bearers of negative phenomena in their ranks and communities.

This is stressed in the statement issued on the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] held yesterday. The statement reads:

At its session held on Tuesday [25 July], the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the current political events in the country and the tasks of the LCY in preparing the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress. On the basis of an opening speech by Milan Pancevski, it was noted that the economic and political situation continues to worsen, that the necessary unity in implementing the social reform has not been attained, and that incompetence and unreadiness in solving the several most topical social problems are growing more and more into mutual confrontations of the several leaderships, which makes the overall situation even more difficult and complex.

In this connection, it was stressed that it was necessary to focus the activities of the League of Communists on the implementation of the key directions of our development, above all the implementation of the social and economic reform, as well as the further democratization of society. A positive political climate and a well thought-out platform for deep transformations in the economy, in the political system, and in the work of the League of Communists must be created through direct activities of the League of Communists and through organized and democratic preparations for the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress.

Proceeding from the stances of the LCY Conference and the tasks set at the LCY Central Committee sessions, the Presidium imposes the obligation on all the League of Communists leaderships, and especially those in the republics and provinces, that they consistently implement the set policy and tasks of the League of Communists on the most essential problems of the development of our society and should resolutely oppose the bearers of negative phenomena in their ranks and communities, instead of indulging in unproductive and unprincipled conflicts. Communists cannot tolerate attacks on the revolution, Tito, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the foundations of joint life and prospects. In this respect, a clear stand and daily work are necessary, along with fresh initiatives and thorough changes in the organization of the economy, society, and the League of Communists. In this way, the necessary conditions will be created for successful preparations and a successful holding of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress. The LCY Central Committee Presidium must also contribute to the creation of such a climate in a most specific way, by showing full initiative in the preparations for the congress, and by reacting to current social phenomena and adopting stands on them in good time, which should include individuals and leaderships being called to account for deviating from the Program, the Statute, and the policy of the LCY.

The Presidium will also discuss the several aspects of the present situation (social, political, and others) at its subsequent sessions, and will propose stands and initiate uniform ideopolitical activities.

Further at its session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the platform for the work of the SFRY delegation at the 9th conference of the heads of states or governments of the nonaligned countries. Supporting the preparations so far and the basic directions of the activities of the SFRY delegation, the LCY Central Committee Presidium pointed out once again that the forthcoming nonaligned summit will be an event of greatest international significance, and that therefore all the social factors in the SFRY should invest maximum efforts to ensure its success. The LCY Central Committee Presidium appeals to the Communists and League of Communists organizations, especially those in the organs that are involved in preparing the summit and those in the media, to make their contribution to the most successful implementation of our country's tasks as the host of the summit.

Assembly Chamber Discusses Kosovo Program

LD2807165389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] will continue work on preparing a complete economic project for the development of Kosovo so that a strategy for economic, social, and population policy can be formulated which will guarantee the province's prosperity. This was stressed by Branimir Pajkovic, an FEC representative, in his introductory report at today's session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, in connection with consideration of a report on the implementation of the Yugoslav program for Kosovo.

Making the assessment that the basic aims of the program are not being implemented, given that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is more intensive than in previous years, he announced an FEC proposal to renew the Yugoslav program for September.

Montenegrins Elected to Assembly Joint Chamber

LD2807152189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0842 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—At the beginning of today's session, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly confirmed the mandate of members of the delegation of the Montenegrin Assembly in this assembly's chamber.

The following were elected as delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces from the Montenegrin Assembly: Milivoje Jaukovic, Miodrag Gomilanovic, Veselin Pavicevic, Milutin Lalic, Rade Gregovic, Dragan Kujovic, Nikola Becir, Svetozar Kalezic, Nikola Samardzic, Miodrag Lekovic, Ranko Cetkovic, and Azra Sehovic.

'Undermining of Interethnic Relations' Examined

AU2807155689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection Committee of Zagreb has assessed that the latest events in Croatia and Yugoslavia have seriously disturbed the public. It was decided that the true background to the undermining of interethnic relations in Croatia and Yugoslavia should be laid bare by political action of the leaderships and sociopolitical organizations, and conditions should be created so that attempts of this kind are prevented.

The expanded session of the committee was attended by presidents and secretaries of the communal committee, as well as by Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia and president of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of Croatia.